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PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.





PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Vol. VII

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PREFACE

THE present volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome* is considerably smaller than any of its six predecessors, which have appeared at irregular intervals between 1902 and 1913. This is due, not to a lack of available material (for several papers have been held over until next year) but to the intention of the Faculty of Archaeology, History, and Letters to issue annual volumes in the future. This change will, it is hoped, be acceptable both to the Subscribers of the Faculty and to the editors of the increasing number of periodicals with which exchanges are maintained.

The first Paper, by the Director, deals with the drawings of ancient fresco paintings preserved in British collections. The originals, found mainly in Rome itself, have in the majority of cases disappeared, so that these drawings represent a valuable store of material for the study both of ancient mythology and of Roman pictorial art. The present instalment of the paper deals only with the collection formed by Dr. Richard Topham and handed over by his executors, in accordance with his wishes, to the Library of Eton College in 1736. Owing to the liberality of the Governing Body of Eton College and the interest taken in the work by the Vice-Provost, Mr. F. W. Cornish, it has been possible to reproduce an adequate selection of these drawings.

The subject of the fourth Paper, by the Assistant Director, is closely connected with that of the first, inasmuch as it is the first half of an article on some of the less known paintings of the Imperial period which

still exist on the Palatine, and which, from their rarity and importance, deserve to be rescued from the oblivion into which they have fallen in recent times. The Faculty desire gratefully to acknowledge the help of Mr. Robert Mond, who has given the coloured reproductions of drawings made by Mr. F. G. Newton, a Student of the School.

The second Paper, by Mr. A. M. Woodward, is an exhaustive account of some of the sculptures from the Temple of Juno Lanuvina at the modern Civita Lavinia. The antiquities discovered by Lord Savile at this site were divided between the British Museum and the Museum at Leeds. The remainder of the sculptures, the architectural terracottas, pottery and other objects will be described in subsequent volumes of the *Papers*.

The remaining Paper contains the publication of the diary of an English visitor to Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century, by Mr. A. H. S. Yeames, who continues his useful work in bringing to light these interesting records of our countrymen in Italy.

Mr. J. S. Beaumont, Gilchrist Student of the School in 1911-12 and 1912-13, had in preparation an article on the Forum of Nerva, but military duties have prevented him from completing it in time for its appearance in the present volume.

THOMAS ASHBY,
Director.

November, 1914.

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ADDENDA

- P. 30, l. 15. This series of six paintings all occur together on one leaf of *Vat. Lat. 3225* (Pl. I. of the facsimile, which forms Vol. I. of the *Codices e Vaticanis selecti, phototypice expressi*. They were omitted by Pietro Sante Bartoli in his *Antiquissimi Virgiliani codicis fragmenta et picturae*, but were reproduced by Mai, *Virgilii picturae antiquae ex codicibus Vaticanis*, Pl. II. He interprets the present painting (No. 4) as representing Dido with the youths standing round her throne (*Aen. I. 594*); but the original is so much damaged as to render a misunderstanding of the subject quite excusable.
- P. 58, l. 1. The original plate of this engraving is still preserved at the Regia Calcografia at Rome (No. 1247).
- P. 58, l. 15. For the inscriptions see *C.I.L.* VI. 36613.
- P. 62, l. 4. An engraving of this painting is published as the tailpiece to Bellori's *Forma Urbis* (the title of which, in the first edition of 1673, is *Fragmenta Vestigii Veteris Romae*) and as the title page to the 1750 edition of Bartoli's *Picturae Antiquae*. The plate is still preserved at the Regia Calcografia (No. 1147).

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. VII. No. I.

DRAWINGS OF ANCIENT PAINTINGS IN
ENGLISH COLLECTIONS.

By THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE subject of the present article is not altogether a new one. In 1895 Professor Lanciani published in the *Bullettino Comunale* (165-192) an article (cited as L.) under the title of *Picturae Antiquae Cryptarum Romanarum*, in which he dealt with the results of his examination of the collections at Windsor and Eton and of the Corsini MS. (158, i. 5: *Inv.* 130102 *sqq.*) in Rome.

In 1909 the late Prof. R. Engelmann published his *Antike Bilder aus römischen Handschriften* (cited as *Eng.*), with a full description of the contents of the Corsini MS. (cited as *Cors.*), of two codices in the Vatican (*Cap.* 284, 285) of a codex in the possession of Mr. St. Clair Baddeley (cited as *Badd.*) and of Caylus' *Recueil de Peintures* (edition of 1757); a large number of photographic reproductions are added.

Finally in 1910 a posthumous article by the late Prof. Adolf Michaelis, with notes added by Prof. Petersen, appeared in the *Jahrbuch des Instituts* (101 *sqq.*). It bears the title *Das Grabmal der Nasonier*, but contains also a description of the drawings relative to ancient paintings in two volumes of the Windsor Castle Library (xiii. (Nettuno) and xix. (Vittoria)

of Michaelis' list in *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 719: now respectively Vols. 196 and 175, Nos. 11123 *sqq.* and 9566 *sqq.* of the new Inventory of the drawings in the library).¹

There are, however, other drawings which have not been dealt with. The most important of these are the two volumes at Holkham Hall (Michaelis, *op. cit.* 323) (cited as *Holk.*). I am indebted to the Earl of Leicester, not only for permission to examine these volumes in the library at Holkham, but for his kindness in allowing them to be sent to the Print Room at the British Museum, where I was able to compare them with the Eton drawings, which the Provost and Fellows of Eton College had been good enough to deposit there for the purpose. There are a few other drawings hitherto unnoticed—some duplicates of the important drawings of the Palatine frescoes in the Coleraine collection at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a book of sketches at Chatsworth (cited as *Chats.*); and at the Bibliothèque Doucet there is an edition of Caylus of 1783, which contains at the end a number of plates (34-55) which do not figure in the edition of 1757, on which Lanciani and Engelmann based their researches.

I have also re-examined with considerable care the collections of drawings at Eton and Windsor, and have been able to make a number of new identifications. Mr. Baddeley, too, was kind enough to show me the codex which he has acquired, and he also lent it to the British Historical Section of the Retrospective Exhibition (*Mostra degli Stranieri*) held in Rome in 1911.² Having spent a considerable amount of time over the work, I have thought it worth while to give a full catalogue of the Eton drawings as being by far the most numerous collection, with cross-references to other collections. Lists of the Holkham drawings, of the contents of Mr. Baddeley's volume, and of the Chatsworth collection, together with collations of Turnbull's *Ancient Painting* and Cameron's *Baths of the Romans*, will follow. For the Windsor drawings Prof. Michaelis' catalogue will for the present be a sufficient guide; though I intend before very long to publish a complete catalogue of the archaeological drawings in the Royal Library, which I have had in preparation for several years. Prof. Lanciani's article, in which the drawings are arranged according to the localities to which they belong, may be used as a topographical index.

¹ They are cited in the text as *Nett.* and *Vitt.*

² See *Papers* vi. p. 489.

The drawings are by no means all by one hand. Lanciani rightly attributes the Corsini codex to Gaetano Piccini on the strength of a note on p. 5 of it:—'*pavimento di mosaici . . . disegnato da me Gaetano Piccini d'ordine del Sig^r Francesco de Ficoroni per darlo alla luce,*' and considers *Eton* i. to be by the same hand. Michaelis attributes to him also the drawings of the Tomb of the Nasonii in *Nett.* and I should be inclined to add the drawings in the Chatsworth volume and *Cappp.* 284. As to the others, the coloured drawings in Mr. Baddeley's MS. are certainly the work of Pietro Sante Bartoli, who died in 1700. The *Eton* drawings, on the other hand, with the exception of those in Vol. I. are entirely by his son Francesco Bartoli (*ca.* 1675–*ca.* 1730), and so are the coloured drawings at Holkham, and some of those at Windsor, and also the finer of the two Capponi codices (No. 285, except ff. 51, 52) as well as the pencil sketches with colour notes in the Windsor and Holkham volumes.

Their archaeological value is somewhat various. As Michaelis has pointed out (*loc. cit.* 104), those of Piccini are more accurate than those of Pietro Sante Bartoli, though harder and of less technical excellence; but even they, when compared with the originals, seem to have but little value. Michaelis was not aware that Nos. 12, 21 (small portions), 32, 33 in Bartoli's publication of the Tomb of the Nasonii are still existing in the British Museum, in the corridor leading to the Gold Ornament Room of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities; and a comparison of them with the drawings in *Nett.* showed that, when the original paintings are still extant, the drawings may often be put on one side. Unfortunately, too, Francesco Bartoli's veracity is by no means above suspicion. A letter from Topham's agent, Francesco Ferando d'Imperiali, which I found in one of the volumes in the *Eton* College Library, shows that he cannot be trusted for colours, nor even for details, which he often varied arbitrarily for reasons of his own. The translation of this letter runs as follows:—

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

In your esteemed letter of the 10th May last you inform me of the differences that you have found between the drawings of Milord Coke and your own, especially in the colours. I must explain the matter to you. When the ancient paintings copied by Bartoli were begun,

you know that there was a great difficulty—that Bartoli would not give out all (the knowledge) that he had, for fear that the drawings might be copied or engraved; and all these difficulties were notified to you, and you promised solemnly that Bartoli should be safe, and that this misfortune should not happen to him. Then I, with Signor Meis, succeeded with great difficulty in persuading Bartoli to give out all his notes, and look them over when¹ he made the drawings, so that they might be made according to his notes, knowing, as did Signor Meis, from Bartoli himself, that he very rarely made drawings for other people which were similar to his notes for fear of the misfortune already mentioned. All the drawings he has made (for you) at any time have been checked with the notes he showed me, so that in my opinion and that of Signor Meis your collection is the most correct of any of the drawings that have come from Bartoli's hands. If he has to do drawings for others, the same thing will happen, for he never shows the notes, or if sometimes he is obliged to do so, they are in great confusion, and if I had not done business with him for a long time and had practice, I should certainly have been confused. This is all that I can tell you as to this difficulty, and Signor Meis is of the same opinion. As to the paintings found in my time, many are in existence and can be checked, and they are quite correct. I have waited to reply in order to be able to speak to Signor Meis about the matter.

I have received another favour from you of the 7th June last. Signor Bartoli is going on with the drawing of the Bacchanal of 18 figures. Nos. 8 and 14 of Villa Casali will be done by Sig. Batoni. As to the book of the Massimi, it will be difficult to copy it. I will not fail to take all the pains I can to obtain it. Only No. 17 of Bartoli's new list is lost, and there are no other notes from which it could be made: No. 16 of that list I have sent in the parcel No. 80, in the account it is marked 4 scudi (20 francs), the price agreed upon. I was wrong in my last letter as to Nos. 8 and 14 at Villa Casali. Your picture has been finished many days ago. I will send it when I have enough to make a sufficiently large parcel, and in my next letter I will tell you about its subject.

Rome, July 24th, 1730.

FRANCESCO FERANDO D'IMPERIALI.

I can speak positively in this matter, for in comparing the Eton and Holkham sets of drawings, I found considerable variations in details and colours—and, what was still worse, grave divergences on Francesco

¹ On the Topham drawings the localities are generally noted—not always correctly—but never on the Holkham drawings.

Bartoli's part in his finished work, from the original notes—the rough drawings in pencil, with notes of the colours to be inserted, a few of which are at Holkham, while others are in Vol. 175 (Nos. 9566 *sqq.*) at Windsor Castle. I imagine, from the letter, that those arbitrary variations were purposely introduced, in order that no one might be in the possession of a copy sufficiently correct to enable him to undertake a publication. The Bartolis themselves never entered upon this enterprise; and the only coloured reproductions of the drawings which have so far appeared are those published by Caylus after Bartoli's death. Nor are Francesco Bartoli's statements as to the locality to which the paintings belonged by any means always trustworthy. Thus, he attributes *Eton* III. 13 to the Villa of Hadrian, while we have the testimony of Piccini (*Cors.* II, 77) that it was a mosaic pavement found in the Vigna Moroni; and the mosaics of S. Costanza are stated to have been found on the Palatine.

The value of these drawings would thus, it is clear, be small, were the original paintings preserved in larger measure than at present. But, unluckily, little care has been taken of them. Comm. Boni's excavations on the Palatine have quite recently brought to light some of the finest specimens, and have shown us how inaccurate Francesco Bartoli's work is; but a number of the others which were found by the Farnese were ruthlessly destroyed (Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 166).¹ This has been the case in other parts of Rome also; and many of the paintings which are still extant are in a far less satisfactory state of preservation than they were when he saw them. The extent to which this latter class of drawings may be treated as still having archaeological value may be gauged by the use that is made of them by Dr. Weege in his article on the Golden House of Nero in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1913, 127 *sqq.* The pen and pencil sketches are naturally of far more value than the formal copies.

References have also been given to the great collections of engravings of these remains of ancient paintings which were published in the eighteenth century by Turnbull, Cameron, Mirri, Ponce, and others.

It has not been possible to reproduce more than a good selection of the original drawings, and if many more have been given than I had

¹ The small caryatid there alluded to is no doubt that from the House of Livia (Turnbull, 34; Naples Museum 8303; Jordan-Hülsem, *Topogr.* i. 3, 62, n. 62).

originally hoped would be possible, this is due to the liberality of the Governing Body of Eton College, and to the interest shown in the work by the Vice-Provost, Mr. F. W. Cornish, whose unfailing kindness during my frequent visits to Eton it is a pleasure to acknowledge here. I am also indebted to Mr. A. S. F. Gow, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who has added a large number of measurements and corrected many details in the descriptions by reference to the originals at Eton. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong has given me valuable help in the interpretation of many of the subjects represented; though from this point of view the present article does not pretend to be more than a preliminary study. Dr. Weege has in contemplation a general treatise on the painted decoration of Roman vaulting, in which a good number of the Eton drawings will probably be given. My intention has rather been to give an idea of the extent and value of the collections as archaeological material. The numerous photographs that have been taken at Eton and elsewhere will be bound up with a copy of the present Catalogue, and placed in the Library of the School, so as to be available to students. Taken in conjunction with the reproductions in Engelmann's work, they represent, I think, a not inconsiderable step towards the formation of a *corpus* of widely dispersed, and not easily accessible illustrations, which give us an image, somewhat feeble, it is true, of the fresco painting of the Roman Imperial period, in so far as it is not more vividly represented to us by actually existing remains. There is, I think, no reason to suppose that Francesco Bartoli positively invented designs of decorations which never existed, though it will be obvious that he has departed from the truth in representing invariably as complete paintings which must have been in a fragmentary state. For this purpose he appears to have used figures that had actually occurred in other designs (cf. *infra*, iii. 3 for an example).

In order to facilitate comparison between the duplicate drawings by Francesco Bartoli in different collections, the measurements (in millimetres) are added.

Drawings belonging to a set often have a separate numbering (*e.g.* the four sides of a room) especially in the Topham collection: this is repeated in brackets after the serial number.

PART I.—THE ETON DRAWINGS.

ETON I. (Bn. 4).

I. *Stanza sepolcrale scoperta nella Vigna Moroni.*

Exterior of a brick tomb: a facsimile is given by L. p. 188, who wrongly gives the number as 27.

The Vigna Moroni is situated on the right of the Via Appia, between the church of S. Cesareo and the Porta S. Sebastiano, opposite the Tomb of the Scipiones. A very large number of tombs (mostly columbaria) have been found there: Ficoroni excavated no fewer than ninety-two (*Bolla d'Oro*, 35), and others were discovered in 1790 (cf. *Mélanges de l'École Française* xxiii. (1903), 379: Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 46; *C.I.L.* vi. pp. 1040, 3430).

Front wall 85 × 115.

The tomb shown in this and the following drawings (1–12) is not identical with any of those given in *Cors.*, and Lanciani's statement (p. 187) that the two series supplement one another is therefore correct.

2–5. *Pitture delle quattro facciate della sopra detta stanza.*

Drawings of details from each of the four sides of the tomb, shown—probably wrongly—in circles.

Diam. 169.

2 (1). Satyr to left facing right playing with a goat to right, facing left, which rears up on its hind legs: tree in right background.

Diam. 158.

3 (2). Youth seated on a rock to left, looking right: two poppies in his right hand: an urn in front of him.

Diam. 158.

4 (3). A boy advances to left, holding a garland in his right hand, and two fillets (?) in his left. (Cf. *infra*, 19, 40)

Diam. 157.

5 (4). A boy on the right incites two cocks to fight in the centre: a tree on the left.

Diam. 169.

6–9. *Angoli della sopra detta stanza.*

Spandrels of the vault.

6 (1). Youthful bust crowned with vine leaves.

139 × 120.

7 (2). Bearded bust do.

139 × 170.

8 (4). Bearded do. (horned).

139 × 116.

9 (3). Youthful do.

137 × 116.

10. *Volta della sopra detta stanza.* Centre of the vault.

Design of foliage : a stag (the emblem of eternity) reclining to right in a circle in centre.

155 × 141.

11. *Pavimento della sopra detta stanza.*

Square mosaic pavement, defective on the right. Circle in centre, with Silenus reclining to the left, holding a patera in his right hand : round the circle are vine leaves and grapes.

154 × 142.

12. *Urneta sepolchra(le) di un ragazzo posta in un cantone della sopra detta stanza.*

Painting in the lunette of a niche.

A draped figure with a rod in the right hand and a garland in the left, advances from left to right : in the centre are two Cupids joining hands : in the background are flowers.

165 × 124.

13. *Nella vigna Moroni.*

Cupid in circle, holding a basket of flowers and facing to the right.

This is identical with the left-hand figure of *Cors.* 65 (*Eng.* v. 6), but probably belongs to the same group as *infra*, 15, and *Cap.* 284, 33, 41.

Diam. 143.

14. *Nella Vigna Moroni.*

An arcosolium ; over the niche two winged Cupids approach one another, hovering, and each holding a flower in his outstretched hand.

233 × 145.

15. *Nella vigna Moroni.*

Cupid seated on a rock, holding a bag full of flowers, and facing to the left, in a circle.

Diam. 143.

A pair to *supra*, 13.

16. *Volta nella vigna Moroni.*

A circular drawing : Pegasus in the centre facing to the right = *Cors.* 41 (*Eng.* iv. 1).

Diam. 157.

17. *Volta nella vigna Moroni.*

Square lines of foliage intersect diagonally in the centre : a winged female figure in each of the four triangles round the centre.

18. *Nella Vigna Moroni.*

138 × 136.

Wall of a columbarium : a door with a brick arch in the centre : on each side of it a niche for urns, and above it three more niches with two

urns in each. Above it is a frieze, showing a landscape, with a man sitting fishing in the centre. The design has some elements in common with *Eton* II. 12, etc., but is different from them. In the right background is a small temple with a column at each angle: on the left is a column with an urn upon it, then a temple with four columns and a statue in the entrance, and to the left a circular shrine with two cypresses behind it.

167 x 137.

19. *Nella Vigna Moroni.*

Silenus seated in the centre in front of a frame from which hang four fillets (?); to the left is a goat. Cf. *infra* 40: *Cappp.* 284. 63, 81.

122 x 150.

20. *Nella Vigna Moroni.*

Mosaic: half figure of a youthful Diana with a crescent on her head and locks falling over her shoulders, shown in a circle: foliage on each side.

Diam. 152.

21. *Mosaico nella Vigna Moroni.*

Silenus riding on a panther going to the left, supported by a youth
=*Cappp.* 284.97.

122 x 147.

22. *Pavimento di Mosaico ritrovato nella Vigna de RR. PP. Gesuiti di S. Stefano Rotondo.*

Nile scene in circle: a man rowing a boat to right: to the left is a duck: in the foreground is a crocodile on the river-bank: in the background is the other bank, on which a date-palm grows. Cf. L. 173.

Diam. 185.

23. = *infra* iii. 13, q.v.

24. *Cammera sepolcrale ritrovata nella Vigna de RR. PP. Gesuiti a Plate 1. S. Stefano Rotondo.*

A. Pozzo *p(er)* fare i bagni [one of the wells so often found in or near tombs].

Longhezza di detta stanza *p(al)*mi 20: Larghezza *p(al)*mi 18: Altezza *p(al)*mi 30. (i.e. 4.45 m. by 4.01 m. by 6.70 m., or 14 feet 10 inches by 13 feet 4 inches by 22 feet 4 inches.)

This drawing (which is not noticed by Lanciani) represents the exterior and interior of a columbarium built in brickwork in the vineyard of the Jesuits near S. Stefano Rotondo, i.e. in what are now the grounds

of the Hospital of the English Nursing Sisters of the Little Company of Mary. The tomb was probably situated at the south-western extremity of the property, close to the Via della Navicella, the modern representative of the ancient road which passed through the Porta Querquetulana (?) of the Servian wall. This gate would naturally have been situated at the top of the descent, so that the tomb would have been on the slope. Cf. Hülsen in *Diss. Acc. Pont. Arch.* ix. (1907), 410.

The tomb was a columbarium : in the centre of the wall is shown facing us a female figure holding a scarf over her head with both hands, which is very like *Cors.* 69 (*Eng.* vi. i), the only difference being that there the head is slightly turned to the left, while in *Eton* ii. 47 it is turned to the right. The locality as given in *Cors.* too is identical. *Pittura discouerta l'anno 1706, tra li castri pellegrini, e le Piscine pubbliche oggi appresso il Sig^r Conte L. F. General Marsigli*, and it is extremely probable that the whole group *Cors.* 61-69 (*Eng.* v. 5-vi. 3) should be referred to this tomb (cf. *infra*, 28), though they must belong to the other walls which are not seen in this drawing. Below the female figure is an arcosolium, in the lunette of which are three ducks. The mosaic pavement is shown in further detail *infra*, 26.

219 × 167.

25. *Camera sepolcrale discouerta l'anno 1706 nella vigna dei SS^{ri} Moroni auanti di uscire della Porta Appia*. Interior of a columbarium in the Vigna Moroni = *Cors.* 71 (*Eng.* vi. 4).

166 × 180.

26. *Pavimento di Musaico della sopra detta stanza* (No. 24).

A centaur to the left in the central circle : in the spaces between the circle and the square border a stag and three birds : in the angles flowers.

140 × 134.

27. *Facciata del ingresso della sopra detta stanza*.

Elevation of the interior of the entrance wall of the tomb No. 24. The door is to the left : by it is an arcosolium with a bird in the lunette and a stag over it : above are two rows of niches for urns and above them two busts with foliage.

181 × 120.

28. *Appresso il General Marsigli* = *Capp.* 284. 55.

The drawing shows the right half of *Cors.* 61 (*Eng.* v. 5).

Two figures in a boat : the one in the stern has the right hand on the gunwale, where a garland hangs : the other (nude) hauls up a net.

Scattered flowers in ground. In *Cors.* there is another boat to the left, with two Erotes in it, and the whole is surrounded by foliage.

As *Eng.* informs us, General Marsigli, who was caricatured by Pier Leone Ghezzi (*Cod. Vat. Ottob.* 3115, f. 56) was the founder of the Istituto di Bologna (De Brosses, *Lettres familières* ii. p. 219). 104 x 130.

29. *Nella Vigna de R.R. P.P. Gesuiti alla Naucicella.*

Plate II.

The locality is the same as before, the reference being to the church of S. Maria della Navicella, to the west of S. Stefano Rotondo, but the circular mosaic here shown, representing a hippopotamus under a palm tree, belongs probably to a different tomb. Diam. 144.

30. *Nella Vigna de R.R. P.P. Gesuiti alla Naucicella.*

Plate II.

Circular mosaic: an ibis (?) and three snails. Diam. 155.

N.B.—From No. 31 onwards no localities are indicated.

31. (1). Circular mosaic: in the central circle is a bust of the Sun with pointed rays: round it are four busts crowned with flowers, alternating with four birds with vine tendrils intertwined. It resembles slightly the centre of *infra* iii. 20, but cannot be identified with it. Nor is it, as *L.* 173 thought, the same as *Cors.* 5 (*Eng.* i. 2). Diam. 183.

32–34 seem to belong to the same set; but 37 is quite extraneous.

32 (2). Circular mosaic (?)

A hippopotamus to left: a hyena (?) to right: a crocodile below. It is wrongly cited by *L.* 173 as f. 33 and connected with *supra* 29, 30. Cf. *Capit.* 284. 53, 57, which show the same animals, but differently disposed, and must go back to the same original. For the subject compare *App.*¹ 10 (which was found in the Baths of Constantine in 1710). Diam. 166.

33 (3). Circular mosaic (?)

An architectural scene: in the centre a small prostyle temple surrounded by a low crenelated wall, with a high tower near each end, and a tree beyond each of them. In the left foreground is a square tower on the shore of a river or sea. Diam. 191.

¹ The reference is to the *Appendix Veterum Musivorum et Picturarum* added to the 1750 edition of Bartoli's *Picturae Antiquae* (which itself is cited as *Pict. Ant.*).

34 (4). Circular mosaic.

An architectural scene: in the centre a domed shrine (?), on the left an obelisk, on the right a small Ionic temple with two columns.

Diam. 170.

35 (5). Circular mosaic.

A Satyr to left, holding pipes in his left hand: he has goat's legs. There are flowers in the background.

Diam. 172.

36 (6). Drunken Silenus on an ass moving to left, supported by a horned Satyr.

Diam. 193.

37 (7). = *infra*, iv. 39. 8 (*q.v.*).

38 (8). Side of a columbarium.

In the lunette of the arcosolium is a man fishing on the left bank of a river: on the right bank is a small temple, to the right of which is a pillar with a large dolium on the top of it. In an upper niche are three urns, and in the lunette a winged female figure in a circle going to the left. Above are garlands, from which hang fillets.

215 × 175.

Plate III.

39 (9). Side of the same (?) columbarium.

Below is the plinth (?) with four pairs of ridge tiles placed converging: the purpose of the arrangement is uncertain: above are three ducks, and above them a hovering winged figure of Victory: on each side of and above her are niches for urns.

215 × 180.

Plate III.

40 (10). Side of a columbarium.

In the floor of the arcosolium are eleven urns: in the lunette sits a boy on a chair facing to the right with a frame in front of him, from which hang five oblong fillets; cf. *supra*, 4, 19, *Pict. Ant.* 14, and tail piece to *App.* p. 107.

220 × 175.

41. = *infra* iv. 70, *q.v.*

159 × 253.

42. Sacrificial scene: to left a square altar with a fire burning on it; behind this is a male figure blowing a double pipe: two female figures advance from the right: the front one pours a libation from a patera in her right hand, a house-shaped incense box is in her left: she is fully draped, in a yellow brown robe with a crimson mantle, and wears a *stephane*: behind her is an attendant with bare arms, carrying a basket of flowers on her head. On the extreme right is a tree. It is very likely a panel from *infra*, iv. 39, *q.v.*

223 × 179.

43. To the left is a tree: then comes a female figure, standing to the right and holding a vase with a miniature pyramid in it: below her is a female figure reclining against a cippus: on the right is a male figure, turned to the left, crowned with flowers, and holding a basket of fruit in his left hand: he is nude except for some drapery which falls from his left shoulder. 258 x 198.

Holk. i. 35: *Chats.* 2: *Cappp.* 284. 12: *Coleraine* viii. 62 (*Cortile Mazzarini l'anno 1709*). No doubt another panel from iv. 39, q.v.

App. 10, 13, 15. Cf. also *infra*, ii. 16.

44 (1). Youth standing to left, on foliage: his drapery hangs from his left shoulder across his body: his right forearm is uplifted, his left arm is by his side, and holds a sprig of olive. No doubt connected with iv. 39, q.v. 190 x 125.

45 (2)-55 (12). Draped female figures in circles with pointed wings, hovering.

56 (1). Female figure in circle standing, holding a censer.

Diam. 165.

57 (2). Female figure in circle standing, holding a torch in one hand, a dish in the other.

Diam. 168.

58 (3)-67 (12). Draped female figures in circles with butterflies' wings, hovering.

64-66. *Chats.* 52, 49.

Whether these really belong to the Vigna Moroni as *L.* believes (p. 187) is quite doubtful.

68. *Pictura antiqua in pinacotheca Cl. Richardi Meade M.D. asservata.* Plate IV.

Aesculapius seated on a chair on the right, facing to the left: in his left hand he holds the staff with the serpent twined round it, in his right hand an object of an uncertain nature. His legs are covered by his drapery. From the left two draped female figures advance with offerings; the front one holds a small vase in her right hand and a flower in her left: the other holds her drapery with her right hand and a vase in her left.

Museum Meadianum, p. 241.

Cf. *Michaelis Anc. Marbles*, p. 49 n. 127.

260 x 175.

Plate IV.

69. *Pictura antiqua penes Thomam comitem de Pembroke.*

A group of seven divinities. To the left is Minerva with helmet and spear; then Hercules, with the lionskin and club; then Diana with three arrows; then Apollo with bow and arrow; then Ceres with a staff and ears of corn (other ears are in a basket by her); then Vertumnus, crowned with vine-leaves, with a basket of flowers in each hand; and to the right Terra Mater (?) reclining.

Cf. Kennedy, *A Description of the Curiosities in Wilton House* (1769), p. 70. 'An antique picture from the Temple of Juno.¹ Juno is sitting by a temple: Pallas, Hercules, Diana, Ceres, Apollo, and Vertumnus are coming to her, with their Symbols in their Hands.' Michaelis *Anc. Marbles*, p. 713, No. 207, says that it is 'completely smudged over and covered with modern inscriptions: it can hardly be made out whether there are any antique remains underneath this covering.' 270 × 130.

70. *Deest.*

ETON II. (Bn. 5).

1 (2). *E balneis Titi in Palatio Massimi.*

So-called 'Coriolanus' in the Golden House of Nero: Weege, *Jahrb.* 1913, 218 sqq. considers that the picture represents Hector and Andromache (223 sqq.), but Robert (*Hermes* xlix. 159) returns to the theory of Engelmann (p. iii), which Weege expressly rejects, that it represents Ciris (i.e. Scylla) and Minos. The colours are incorrect, and the legend shows that the drawing is taken, not from the painting itself, but from *Badd.* 96. Cf. also *Capit.* 285, 2 (*Eng. T.* xvi. 2), 51 (*Eng. T.* xxiii. 5), Windsor (a) *Nett.* 148 (*Inv.* 11392), (b) *Vitt.* 14 (*Inv.* 9573), (c) Vol. 194, f. 22 (*Inv.* 11053),² *Holk.* i. 14, *Coleraine*, viii. 18. *Bartoli, Pict. Ant.* I. *Mirri*, 58 (centre). *Ponce*, 57 (centre). Cf. *infra*, 20. 292 × 203.

2 (7). *E Palatio Titi.* Mosaic of man and crocodile. Cors. 139 (*Eng. T.* xiii. 1). *Mosaico antico di pietre naturali dure nel museo Massimi.* It is No. 6 of the list of mosaics in Palazzo Massimi given by *Eng.* p. xxvi. Cf. also Windsor *Vitt.* 99 (101, now *Inv.* 9681); *Nett.* 155b (*Inv.* 11404);

¹ At Praeneste, as Michaelis was told; but no such temple is known to have existed there.

² Weege does not mention that this and the other drawings in vol. 194 are by Giuseppe Mannocchi: some of them bear the date 1773.

Holk. i. 30. It is now in Madrid (cf. Hübner *Ant. Bildw.* p. 198, No. 405 ; now *Mus. Arqueológico* No. 3606).¹

For the building from which this and several other mosaics and paintings came (*infra* 3, 12, 13, 70, 71), cf. *Caylus* 1 (*Eng. T.* xxiv. 1) ; *Lanc.* 174 ; *Eton, Mahog.* 2 ; *Cors.* 147. It does not seem to have formed part of the main building of the Golden House, but to have been a subsidiary edifice.

171 square.

3. Painting : Nereids and Cupids riding sea-monsters. On the right *Plate V.* Nereid on a sea-stag, on the left a Nereid on a sea-cow : both have halos. *Franco Bartoli F. Mostri marini con Ninfe del palazzo di Tito.* *Capp.* 285. 17 (*Eng. T.* xviii. 2).

161 × 360.

4 (8, 12 on front). Mosaic : harbour with ships. '*In ecclesia Sanctae Mariae trans Tiberim.*' It still exists in the sacristy. The *Eton* drawing represents the fisherman in the left-hand boat as hauling up a net : his dress is blue. In the lowest boat the seated figure is in blue, the standing figure in red : the latter is *not* hauling up a net.

Cors. 131 (*Eng. T.* xii. 1), *L.* 189 *fin.* *Windsor Inv.* 12077. *Ciampini Vet. Mon.* i. 32. 2 (reversed). *Capp.* 284. 85, 86.

263 × 209.

5 (14 on front). Painting. Hercules (?) and a sleeping nymph. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' *Capp.* 285. 1 (*Eng. T.* xvi. 1).

It is really the group on the right of *Bartoli Ant. Sep.* 19 (*Villa Corsini*). Cf. *Windsor, Vitt.* 76 (78) (= *Inv.* 9563).

Engelmann (Arch. Értés. 1908, p. 242) conjectures that it is really a representation of Zeus (under the form of a Satyr) and Antiope ; and in *Bartoli's* drawing at *Windsor* and in his engraving, as a fact, the representation is clearly of a Satyr.

131 × 155.

6. Painting. Warrior with shield holding a horse : two attendants. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' Cf. *Capp.* 285. 16 (*Eng. T.* xviii. 4), which shows an additional attendant to the left.

The man to the right of the horse has a green chlamys in both *Eton* and *Capp.* : the man with the horse wears yellow, and the man to the left red.

147 × 146.

¹ With other mosaics, to be described below, it was given by Charles III. to the Biblioteca Nacional in 1787, and has the number 195 worked into the field, corresponding to its earlier collocation there.

7-10. Paintings : all ' *del Palazzo di Tito.*'

7. Youth hovering in the air, to right, with a garland of leaves in his hair, and fruit in his left hand. His drapery is yellow above, red below.

Cors. 75 (*Eng. T.* vii. 1). *Holk.* i. 2 (attitude and colours differ).
173 diam.

8. Male figure hovering, holding a rectangular object in his left hand.

Cors. 151 (*Eng. T.* xiii. 4). *Pittura antica delle Terme di Tito Vespa- siano nel Museo Massimi* (not shown in a circle), *Holk.* i. 6. 159 diam.

9. Male winged figure hovers to right : *pedum* in right, cloak over left arm and flying behind : dish in left hand. 170 diam.

10. Male figure to left with red drapery holding with his left hand the right hand of a dancing girl with yellow drapery (*Hesione* and *Heracles*?). *Cappp.* 285. 24 (*Eng. T.* xix. 6).

Holk. ii. 43. Pen sketch numbered 88 (with colour notes, which in this instance have been accurately followed). Cf. *infra*, iv. 81, *Caylus* xvi. (*Eng. T.* xxvi. 5).
165 diam.

11. Painting. Youth seated with *pedum*, turning towards a woman standing to his left. ' *Del Palazzo di Tito.*'

Cappp. 285. 8 (*Eng. T.* xvii. 2)—the *pedum* is more slanting here.
132 × 143.

Plate VI. 12. Painting. View of a temple and other buildings. On the left in the foreground is a bridge leading to a rectangular temple on the right, with two statues in front of it : on the left is a rectangular extension of it. By the bridge sits a fisherman : two figures stand on the near side of it, and two on the far side : in the left background is a round temple with a disk on the top of the dome and six Ionic columns in the façade, with a cypress on each side of it, and a female statue to the right in front of it. ' *Bartoli j. un paese del Palazzo di Tito.*'

Cf. *infra*, 69, 70, which are similar and come from the same place : also 48, 72.

None of these is identical with *Holk.* i. 60 ; *Cappp.* 284. 17 ; *Coleraine*, viii. 61 ; (*Pittura antica ritrovata nel Cortile del Palazzo Mazzarini l'anno 1709*) ; D'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art.* V. Pl. iv. 6 (*Matz-Duhn, Ant. Bildw.*

i. p. 241). *App.* 15, *Turnb.* 35 (from the *Thermae Constantini*, still preserved in Palazzo Rospigliosi). The frieze of *Eton* i. 18 is not identical with any of this series. For the locality of the discovery cf. *Eton* iii. 27. 251 × 145.

13. Painting. A Priapus herm and other objects, including an altar to right: two Erotes approach from left. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' There is a wall in the background. On front *Franco Bartoli F.*

Cappp. 285. 6 (*Eng. T.* xvi. 6); *Vitt.* 97 (99) (*Inv.* 9677) No. 1. (here there is only one Eros). 135 × 160.

14 (13). Mosaic. Two gladiatorial scenes:—

Plate VII.

(a) A man lies bleeding to right: two attendants to left.

(b) Two men fighting, each with a shield: an umpire on each side. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*'

Holk. i. 61. It is really a mosaic formerly in the Massimi collection (*Eng.* p. xxvi No. 5) now in Madrid (formerly *Bibl. Nac.* 196, *Hübner op. cit.* No. 399, now *Mus. Arq.* No. 3601), though drawn as a painting. See *infra*, 17. The inscriptions are omitted in the *Eton* and *Holkham* drawings: they are as follows:—

(a) (Above) *haec videmus Symmachi homo felix*. The two *lanistae* bear the names of *Neco* and *Habilis*: while the fallen gladiator is called *Maternus* and has the θ denoting his death.

(b) *quibus pugnantibus Symmachus ferrum misit*. The gladiator on the left bears the name *Maternus* (again with the θ), and he on the right *Habilis*. See *Winckelmann, Mon. Ined.* 198: *C.I.L.* vi. 10205b. 201 × 164.

15. Painting (?). Athena in centre: to the left Fortune (?) with cornucopiae: to the right a female figure with a crown in her left hand. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' 168 × 145. Plate VII.

16. Painting. To the left a female figure crowned with olive stands towards the right, holding a tambourine (?): below her a woman reclines, with an object of an uncertain nature under her right elbow and a vitta in her left hand: to the right is a flower-crowned youthful Bacchus (?) with a red cloak and a thyrsus in his left hand. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' The resemblance to *Eton* i. 43 is so close that we must, it seems

to me, suppose a common original, much misunderstood by one or both artists: cf. *Holk.* i. 35. If this is so, it really belongs to the Baths of Constantine: cf. on iv. 39. 176 × 152.

17. Mosaic. Fight between a *secutor* and a *retiarius*, in two scenes. Both were found in the 'orto del Carciofolo' on the left of the Via Appia just before the Villa Mattei (Jordan-Hülsen, *Topogr.* i. 3 p. 206 n. 17: Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 35) in 1670: and these two mosaics passed into the Massimi collection (*Eng.* p. xxv. No. 2). 'Del Palazzo di Tito' (wrongly). Caylus 31 (*Eng.* T. xxix. i.): 'Altra copia di mosaico trovato nel orto detto del carciofolo.' *Vitt.* 89a (*Inv.* 9668). Winckelmann (*Mon. Ined.* 197) has copied *Vitt.*; but from what source he obtained *ib.* 198, of which I know no drawing except *supra* No. 14, I do not know. *Holk.* i. 50.

The two inscriptions *Astianax vicit Kalendio* and *Astianax Kalendio* θ (θάναρος) are omitted in the Eton and Holkham drawings.

Now in Madrid (formerly *Bibl. Nac.* 194: Hübner No. 400: now *Mus. Arq.* No. 3600): *C.I.L.* vi. 10205a, 33979. 201 × 165.

Plate V. 18. Painting. Rape of Europa—two women standing to right, one crouching with a basket of flowers in centre under Europa and the bull: three to left (one seated) under a tree. All these figures are represented on the shore, while the bull canters off to the right over the sea with Europa on his back: her scarf is held over her head with both hands. 'Del Palazzo di Tito.'

Not Turnbull 8 (which is a mosaic in Palazzo Barberini), *App.* 12. Cf. Jahn, *Wien. Denkschr.* 1870, 1-54. 189 × 297.

¹ Bartoli *mem.* 13 apud Fea *Misc.* i. p. 225. 'In tempo di Clemente X. (1670-6) fu cavato nell' orto contiguo a quello de Mattei incontro la Marrana, doue si purificano le lane, e vi furono ritrovate vestigia di molte stufe [i.e. hypocausts]: una tra le altre con bellissimo pavimento di mosaico tutti figurato [cf. *Vitt.* 89, 90 (*Inv.* 9666, 9667): *Nett.* 151b (*Inv.* 11397): Bartoli *Pict. Ant.* 19 = Caylus 32 (*Eng.* T. xxix. 2): *App.* 1] e tra le altre cose due tegoloni di mosaico, quali ebbe il cardinale Massimo.'

The legend to *Vitt.* 89, 90 (see Michaelis, *Jahrb.* 1910, 120) gives further particulars. The room was 30 palms (6.67 metres) square, and was paved with the large mosaic (*App.* 1), which seems from the drawings in *Vitt.* and *Nett.* to have been patched in places with rough pieces of marble, on two of which are shown fragments of inscriptions—D·I·M· and SVRAM. In the centre was an outlet for water, and the pavement was supported upon a hypocaust: while numerous lead water-pipes were found round about. The two mosaics with gladiatorial scenes were inserted as panels in the walls.

19. Painting. Mithras slaying a bull: a dadophoros to left, reclining river-god right foreground: chariot of Sun right background. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' *Nett.* 156 (*Inv.* 11405); *Holk.* ii. 36 (pencil). '*Pittura antica scoperta li 22 genaro 1668 uicino il coliseo.*' Turnbull 9. Cf. Lanciani, 179 *init.*

Omitted by Michaelis, who (in his MS. notes) considered it a modern composition. The river-god does not occur in *Nett.* and there the bird is over Mithras. The fact that two other drawings of it exist (while a third was, according to Turnbull's text (p. 176), among the drawings on vellum which passed from the Massimi collection into the hands of Dr. Mead¹ and served as the original of his engravings) one of which is one of the original pencil sketches, seems to me to demonstrate its genuineness.

169 × 259.

20 (16). Painting. Youth stands to left: to right two female figures of whom one kneels, offering a basket of fruit with a serpent in it, the other, standing, holds a jug in her left hand. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' *Cappp.* 285. 27 (*Eng. T.* xx. 2).

179 × 145.

21. Painting. Amphitrite on a chariot drawn by two sea-monsters: a Cupid with torch above to right. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' On front *Franco Bartoli.*

Cappp. 285. 4 (*Eng. T.* xvi. 4).

No traces of this have been found in the 'Coriolanus' room. Cf. *infra*, No. 25.

155 × 179

22. Painting. Aphrodite swimming (both feet in the water) with numerous putti round her: on the shore in the foreground are other putti.

Franco Bartoli. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*'

Caylus 25 (*Eng. T.* xxviii. 1): *Pittura antica della mede(s)ima stanza sotterranea a S. Gregorio nel Monte Celio.*

Nett. 149 (*Inv.* 11394) with the right leg out of the water. *Holk.* ii. 7. *App.* 7 a. (*Domus Titi*): cf. 4. Benndorf *Ath. Mitt.* i. (1876), T. ii. p. 64. Rostowzew in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, x. 560 sqq. Amelung *Atti Acc. Rom. Arch.* ser. ii. vol. x. i. p. 204 (who publishes a similar scene from the Roman house under the church of SS. Giovanni e

¹ Cf. *Papers* vi. p. 491.

Paolo). Lanciani 174 (Vigna Guglielmini on the Clivus Scauri). Bartoli (*App.* and here) is therefore wrong, though Michaelis follows him without question. Cf. also iii. 28 for the ceiling, of which the following Nos. (22-24) are the lunettes. It must be from a tomb just outside the Porta Capena on the left (?): see Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 35. 312 × 157.

Plate VIII. 23. Painting.

Two female figures on a rock, one with a garland, the other with a patera, in the uplifted right hand, the other hand of each resting on the ground. On the sea are two boats, and in the foreground a boy swimming. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' 312 × 154.

This scene has not been engraved.

24. Painting. Erotes in boats: Aphrodite or a youth (?) and a woman seated on a rock in the centre.

'*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' *Cappp.* 285. 32 (*Eng. T.* xxi. 3): *Caylus* xxiv. (*Eng.* xxvii. 6); (*Pittura Anticha nella facciata principale della stanza sotterranea nel orto delli frati di San Gregorio al Monte Celio*). *Nett.* 150 (*Inv.* 11395); 145 (*Inv.* 11389) is a detail sketch in pencil of the boat on the left below. *Holk.* ii. 60. *App.* 7 b. 312 × 154.

25. Painting. Amphitrite in biga facing to left: a Triton in front of her. Robert (*Hermes cit.*) considers that there were originally two Tritons, and that Poseidon sat by Amphitrite's side: the state of the fresco, however, was so bad that the draughtsmen were unable to recognise their presence, and so omitted them entirely. '*Fran(ces)co Bartoli F. Del Palazzo di Tito.*'

Vitt. 20 a (*Inv.* 9581). *App.* 5.

162 × 149.

Centre of the vault of the 'Coriolanus' room of the Domus Aurea (*Weege, Jahrb.* p. 227 *sqq.* fig. 72).

26. Arabesque: at each end a winged male Centaur springing from a flower, and a Cupid behind him: dark maroon ground. *Fran^{co} Bartoli* '*Un ornamento del Palazzo di Tito.*'

Holk. ii. 59 (pen) (*ornamenti che tramezzano le vittorie delle amazzoni li uni fatti di coloretto altri di chiarooscuro*), cf. *ib.* 57 (=Caylus 15 (*Eng. T.* xxvi. 3) *scoperte l'anno 1684 nelle Terme di Tito*. Caylus adds *uicino le sette sale*). Lanciani wrongly calls this 26 bis, and from this point his numbering is one short.

248 × 120.

27. Painting—whole wall.

Plate IX.

In centre below an Apollo, nude, a long arrow in right, phorminx in left. A little yellow drapery hangs by his side. Four red Ionic columns—then two standing female figures. Above a hovering female figure in the centre: at each side a female figure holding a bow with fluttering drapery: that on the right red, on the left yellow. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*'

The corresponding wall will be found in *Holk.* ii. 13. 256 × 182.

28. Painting. Paris and Helen. Helen seated on the right facing to the left, with an attendant behind her: in front of her stand Paris and Eros. '*Bartoli Palazzo di Tito.*' *Capp.* 285. 10 (*Eng. T.* xvii. 6), copied by Winckelmann, *Mon. Ined.* 114. 167 × 144.

29. Painting. Youth and water-nymph sitting among bulrushes on a rock: the nymph holds up a bulrush in her left hand: she has yellow drapery and the youth red drapery, over the lower limbs. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' 210 × 185. Plate VIII.

30. Painting. A youth holds a palm in his right hand, and leads a horse with his left: the rider has mostly disappeared. '*Bartoli, Palazzo di Tito.*' *Capp.* 285. 11 (*Eng. T.* xvii. 5). 171—137.

31. Painting. Two female figures to left: one standing, with green drapery and holding a chaplet in her left, her right hand resting on the shoulder of a seated companion with red drapery over her legs. To the right is a victorious charioteer with a palm in the right hand, a yellow robe, and red chlamys. The sandals are strapped high round the legs. '*Bartoli Palazzo di Tito.*' Cf. *Holk.* i. 31 (not identical) for subject. 200 × 165.

32. Painting. Two women with flowers go to the left: between them walks a putto with a garland. The woman on the left has a tambourine in her right hand, a green scarf, a white robe with red over the lower part of the body: the left hand with flowers is held to her head. The putto has red drapery. The other woman has a plate of fruit in her right hand, a yellow scarf, a blue cloak, and a green skirt below. '*Bartoli Palazzo di Tito.*' *Capp.* 285. 30 (*Eng. T.* xx. 6). 170 × 154.

33. Oedipus and the Sphinx. Oedipus sits below a rock, to the right, on which is the Sphinx: he is draped in red: to the left a youth in a green robe with a pedum in the right hand runs away. '*Bartoli Palazzo di Tito.*' *Capp.* 285. 31 (*Eng. T.* xxi. 1). 182 × 175.

Not identical with *Holk.* i. 27, which = *Bart. Nason.* 19.

34. Painting. The three Fates and Tellus (?). Tellus, draped in yellow and white, reclines in the foreground: one of the Fates, in red over blue, with diadem and sceptre, is seated in the centre: the other two stand on each side of her, the one in yellow-brown over white, the other in green over red. *Bartoli nella 'Libreria del Cardinale Albani.'* *Capp.* 285. 36 (*Eng. T.* xxi. 4). 170 × 135.

35-40. Mosaics. *Bartoli 'Palazzo di Tito,'* numbered i.-vi.

Another drawing belonging to the set is *Nett.* 154a (*Inv.* 11400) repeated in *Holk.* ii. 75, and *Cors.* 165 (*Eng. T.* xiv. 5). This mosaic is now in Madrid (*Bibl. Nac.* 191, *Hübner*, No. 401; *Mus. Arq.* 3605). All these three, as well as No. 38, were in the Massimi collection (*Eng.* p. xxv. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 7). For the explanation of the use of these amphorae in the circus for watering the sand see *Helbig, Führer*, i.³, p. 220. *Lanciani* 170 is wrong in saying that *Nett.* and *Vitt.* fix the date of the discovery as 1670, and in referring these mosaics to the Orto del Carciofolo: there are no inscriptions or legends on the drawings in either case.

35 (i). Quadriga to left with two figures in it. *Vitt.* 86b (*Inv.* 9665); *Nett.* 154c (*Inv.* 11402); *Holk.* i. 37; *App.* 9a. Now in Madrid (*Bibl. Nac.* 199; *Hübner*, No. 403; *Mus. Arq.* No. 365). 179 × 190.

36 (ii). Quadriga full face. *Vitt.* 86a (*Inv.* 9664). *App.* 9b (*Picturae antiquae in aedibus Marchionis de Maximis*). Now in Madrid (*Bibl. Nac.* 197; *Hübner*, No. 402; *Mus. Arq.* No. 363). 181 × 190.

Plate X.

37-40. This group of drawings probably refers to a single pavement, which was discovered on the right of the Via Appia near Domine quo vadis in January, 1720, according to Montfaucon (*MS. Paris*, 1293, f. 158; cf. *Bianchini, Cod. Veron.* 348, ff. 71, 79, who gives the inscription of T. Flavius Posidonius separately, as though it had been on a marble slab, *C.I.L.* vi. 18169, whereas it in reality belonged to the pavement). We have also the testimony of *Ficoroni (Roma Antica (1741) i. 289;*

Mem. 19 ap. Fea, *Misc.* i. 125): 'In the same year—1720—on the Via Appia beyond the church of *Domine quo vadis*? a pavement was discovered, in which some charioteers of the circus were figured, one of whom had the name SEVERUS. It was conveyed to Germany.' (The last statement is apparently erroneous.) See *C.I.L.* vi. 10203, 33978, and the drawing of the pavement as a whole reproduced in Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.* suppl. iii. Pl. 67. There are considerable differences between the engraving and our drawings. Thus, in the left-hand top corner there is a single figure of a gladiator turned towards the right (No. 40) with the inscription: MARTI · ALIS · L · XXI: further to the right is a quadriga hastening to the left, with a biga below it, also going to the left (No. 37). To the left below is the left-hand figure in our No. 39, with the inscription: SEVERVS · L · V: then, in the field, comes the inscription (*C.I.L.* vi. 18169):

T · FL · POSIDONI
O · FILIO · BENE·
MERENTI · F ·

then lower down (under the biga) a quadriga going to the right (with one figure only in it, not two as in our No. 38); behind it is a square object (a base?) with two small concentric circles drawn upon the front of it. To the right of the two quadrigae the pavement is broken. A (somewhat fantastic?) cable border is shown surrounding the whole.

Whether the three other mosaics in Madrid (35, 36, and *Nett.* 154a (*Inv.* 11400)) have anything to do with 37-40 must be regarded as uncertain.

37 (iii.). Two quadrigae to left, racing, with the inscription:
ALIS · I · XXI. above to left (this corner is fractured).

181 × 192.

38 (iv). Quadriga to right, with two figures, the left-hand one using his whip. *Vitt.* 89b (*Inv.* 9669); *Nett.* 154b (*Inv.* 11401). *Holk.* i. 36 (colours differ: Eton—man on left darker blue stripes, man on right yellow with red stripes: harness yellow. *Holk.*—both men in cream with blue stripes: harness blue). Now in Madrid (*Bibl. Nac.* 193; Hübner, No. 404; *Mus. Arq.* No. 3603).

210 × 190.

39 (v). Two gladiators; one to left with hooked weapon stands erect, while the other, on the ground, tries to hook him by the right leg. On the right is the fragmentary inscription: SEVERVS · L·V

170 × 155.

40 (vi). Gladiator to right with shield and spear. Fragmentary inscription: MARTI

170 × 125.

41. Painting. Trojan horse. '*Del Palazzo di Tito.*' (But really the frieze at the bottom of Pl. 16 of Bartoli's *Ant. Sep.*, from a tomb in the Villa Corsini.) *Capp.* 285. 33 (*Eng. T.* xxi. 5): *Vitt.* 75 (77) (*Inv.* 9652) in which neither the colours nor the drawing agrees, but the same painting is certainly represented.

118 × 325.

Plate XI. 41. (The number occurs twice). Painting. A sacrifice: to the left a female statue under a shrine crowned by two vases: then three female figures, one raising the lid of a cista mystica, from which a serpent is seen issuing, then a column with a statue of Athena upon it: to the right of it are two females and a boy with a pedum: to the right again two more women, one with a pedum, the other with a basket on her head; and behind these is an architectural background. '*Bartoli. Palazzo di Tito.*' This is an amplified version of the scene which is given in *Vitt.* 28a, 29b, 84 (*Inv.* 9590, 9593—an original sketch of Bartoli, with colour notes—9662): the last bears the legend *Pittura antica trouata in una Vigna fra S. Pietro in Vincola e S. Martin de Monti.*

420 × 210.

Plate XI. 42 (T). Mosaic. Bacchic scene (Dionysus seated with thyrsus: youthful male figure with *cornucopiae* in his right and pedum in his left hand) in square in centre with 22 other compartments around. '*Bartoli. Pauimentum e Villa Hadriani.*'

360 × 300.

43 (u). Mosaic. The well-known group of the Drunken Bacchus leaning on a Satyr with a panther running by his side. '*Bartoli. Pauimentum e Villa Hadriani.*'

This is the same as Breval, *Remarks since the Year 1723*, i. 85, except for the centre, which is taken from *Holk.* i. 33, and shows a female figure reclining under a tree to the left, and a male figure standing, wearing a garland and holding sacrificial vessels, to the right. Breval calls it 'The Pavement of the Bathing-room in the Palatine Hill.' The pave-

ment is not, it may be said, mentioned by Montfaucon, and from Breval's text it must have been destroyed as soon as it was discovered, though it is difficult to see how it could have been fitted into the remains which Comm. Boni has recently brought to light (cf. *infra*, iii. 26, iv. 100, *Mahog.* 13 *sqq.*). 308 sq.

44-47. Paintings (a set numbered i-iv, 44 being a whole wall, and 45-47 details), though they do not actually form part of the composition. '*Bartoli Villa Hadriani.*'

44 (i). Below is a portico decorated with composite columns: in the centre a female figure stands on the left, with drapery over her right shoulder and her lower limbs: before her kneels a youth, with his left arm stretched out, and the index finger pointing down: between them is a snake rising out of a basket of flowers. In the panel on the left is Hermes with the caduceus, in that on the right is a female figure with a stephane, and drapery round her lower limbs, holding an apple (?) in her right hand: above these figures are solar busts: in the panels at each extremity are pairs of Ionic columns supporting vases, but belonging to the scheme of the background. In the upper tier the architecture is Ionic. Minerva (?), unarmed, with a sceptre in her right hand, and a wreath in her left, is seated on a chair in the centre panel: and in each of the panels at the extremities is a hovering cherub. 254 x 345.

45 (ii). Priapus herm in centre: in front of it an Eros: to right Hermes with kerykeion, to left a Niké flying with a garland, both approaching it. Niké's drapery is yellow. *Capp.* 285. 7 (*Eng. T.* xvii. i.) reversed. 127 sq.

46 (iii). Psyche holding a vitta, and Mars, the latter with a mask (?) in his left hand. The representation finds no parallel elsewhere, for, as far as I have been able to discover, there is no ground for the association of Psyche with a warrior. The mask, too, I cannot explain. 160 x 144.

47 (iv). A draped figure poised, with a scarf held over her head in both hands. Resembles *Cors.* 69 (*Eng. T.* vi. i.), but is not identical. Cf. also *Chats.* 57, *Capp.* 284. 59. 157 x 128.

48. An architectural scene (cf. 12, 69, 70, 72),¹ of which the last

¹ Not 79, as Lanciani 181 says.

resembles it most, and was indeed found on the same site. '*Ad sanctam Mariam Majorem reper(t)um.*'
140 × 236.

An engraving of it will be found in Bartoli, *Pict. Ant.* 10, dedicated to Cardinal Giambattista Spinola. There it is said to have been found in the Palazzo di Tito under his auspices.

49-66. A long series of paintings numbered vi-23 (x omitted). '*Bartoli, Villa Hadriani.*'

Plate IX. 49 (vi). A whole wall. In the centre below a female figure (Venus?) on a pedestal, with red drapery over lower part of body, a patera in the right hand and a spear (?) in the left. On each side a standing figure: on left a Mercury with caduceus, on right a Diana wearing the crescent with torch (green drapery). In the centre above a seated Zeus with sceptre and thunderbolts. Not unlike *Vitt.* 92 (94), (*Inv.* 9672) and *Holk.* ii. 13.
355 × 270.

50 (vii). A whole wall. In centre under a shell niche on a blue ground Hercules seated with club to right: on left a female figure leaning against a round altar holding a sheep's head to left, with yellow chiton, red himation, blue underskirt: to left is Athena with yellow himation and underskirt, rose robe: to right a female figure in yellow over red. *Cors.* 83 (*Eng. T.* ix. 2) *Pittura antica discouerta nel Celio nella Villa Casali l'anno 1706.* Colours differ entirely, and details vary: thus, if this drawing, which is far less elaborate, is correct, all the upper part of Bartoli's drawing is a fabrication. He places a vase in the centre: on each side of the curved pediment of the shell-niche a nude male figure sits, with a smoking altar in front of him: on the right is a statue of Minerva with helmet, shield and spear (round the spear a serpent is twined) and on the left a draped female figure (Ceres?) with a torch in the right hand.
310 × 290.

51. (viii). Zeus with eagle to extreme right on a throne: Athena behind him, and in the background a blue curtain: to left a bearded figure advances towards him to right, behind him another unbearded figure: and to left four more figures, two bearded, two not: one, laurel-crowned, who sacrifices on an altar, is probably an emperor. 165 × 271.

52 (ix). Paris (with red and yellow drapery) and the three goddesses—all quite nude. No tree in background. *Cappp.* 285. 22 (*Eng. T.* xix. 4).
169 × 217.

53 (xi). A winged goddess (yellow drapery) driving two lions (?) : in front of the chariot a nude putto with a palm branch. *Cappp.* 285. 5 (*Eng. T.* xvi. 3).
140 × 205.

54 (xi). Two nude men in a boat drag at a net on the left : to right is the steersman in a blue cap, facing left. *Cappp.* 284. 87, in *Aventino nell' anno 1708* (*Eng. p.* xvii.).
147 × 179.

55 (xii). Three female figures and one male, leaf-crowned : one to right seated : the male figure leans with his right hand on a board. One of the figures to left holds a miniature red pyramid (for the pyramid cf. *supra* i. 43 and *Holk.* i. 35).
170 × 160.

56 (xiii). Nude terminal figure, the upper part in the shape of a helmeted warrior with shield and spear, on a pedestal in centre : below the pedestal is a vase : two men seated to right, one in a chair leaf-crowned to left—all bearded. (Scene of taking an oracle ?)
145 × 152.

57 (xiv). Twelve draped male figures within a walled area : one kneels and offers a coffin-like object to a bearded figure in the centre (Homer ?), who seems to be receiving homage from the rest. The two figures on the left, both bearded, hold rotuli. It may be a 'pendant' to the Cavalieri Mosaic (*Eng. p.* xxvi. *sqq.*), cf. *infra* iv. 1. 170 × 280.

58 (xv). Five female figures, one standing to left with shield : one seated, then two standing, then one seated. A wall in right background with an urn on it. *Cappp.* 285, 18 (*Eng. T.* xviii. 6). Details differ—tree inserted on left.
176 × 170.

59 (16). A bearded man pursues a woman to the left : his drapery is yellow, hers red. Pluto and Persephone (?). *Cors.* 59 (*Eng. T.* v. 4), *pavimento di musaico di camera sepolcrale*. This indication is probably quite incorrect. The man's drapery is blue.
168 × 138.

60 (17). Diana and Actaeon (?). A female figure is seated to the right leaning against a tree : her shoulders and arms are bare, and she wears a stephane. Her left arm is raised to her head, her right hand points

down to a basket of flowers in front of her from which springs a winged serpent. A female attendant stands to her left. Behind are a tree and a column with a two-handled urn upon it. In the centre, in the background, is a base with an amphora upon it: on the left a shepherd with a long pedum in his right hand and his left arm outstretched advances towards Diana (?). [Cleopatra? A.G.]

192 x 172.

61 (18). Statue of a draped female divinity on a high base, with a wreath of flowers on her head, a wand in her left hand, and a sphere (?) in her right. To the right is Eros, winged, and bearing a palm in his right hand (red drapery): to the left, Mercury with a winged caduceus (yellow drapery).

202 x 154.

Plate XII.

62 (19). Neptune and Amphitrite going to right in a chariot drawn by seahorses, which are led by a Triton with a club on his left shoulder: Cupid with torch above: two Tritons with trumpets in left foreground.

330 x 190.

63 (20). Four female figures dancing: the two on right have double pipes, the next a tambourine, the other a long single pipe (?). 175 x 248.

64 (21). In centre a female figure (Psyche?) with pink scarf over her head, seated on a cloud: a male winged figure on each side holds a longer green scarf over her: the one on the right holds a phorminx. Psyche being borne up to Olympus (?).

238 x 172.

65 (22). Sacrifice to Priapus. To the left an olive tree: then three male figures with drapery reaching to the knees: then a Priapic column with a red disk on the summit and a basket of fruit at the foot: then three women laying fruit on an altar: then an olive tree: then a wall with a red curtain over it.

170 x 226.

66 (23). Bacchic scene. Female figure reclining to right under a rock, stretching out a patera: three female figures dancing give drink to one another: the one on left holds a thyrsus. A two-handled bowl on an altar in front in the centre, and a tree in the background.

174 x 310.

67 (22). Arabesques. Cupids among them, and a horse in frieze. 'E Villa Hadriani Tiburtina.' Another drawing in *Eton Bm.* 9. 50

(Lanciani, *Bull. Comm.* 1894, 179) : 'a piece of antique pain(ting), taken out of y^e villa Adriano supposed to be done in y^e year cxxv.' *Caylus* xxviii (*Eng. T.* xxviii. 5), *Copiato da un bellissimo fragmento antico trouato nella villa Adriana uicino Tivoli al presente nel palazzo farnese in Roma*, Matz-Duhn, 3467, 3468 (?)—fragments of sculptured friezes in Palazzo Farnese. Not *Vitt.* 42 (*Inv.* 9606). 85 × 214.

68. Wanting.

69 (v.). Landscape with city on further bank to right : on left a rocky promontory ; a galley sailing and rowing with five oars out towards the right : to the extreme right a fisherman with a conical cap sits on the shore (cf. 12, 48, 70, 72). 'Bartoli, *Villa Hadriani*.' 290 × 205. **Plate XII.**

70. Landscape (painting of). To the left is a grove of trees, in front of which is a circular domed building with rectangular windows, and a circular disk (shown red) on the top of the dome : the lower part of it is hidden by an oblong building with Ionic pilasters and niches between them, and the entrance on one of the long sides. To the right is a column with a statue of Minerva (?), with a shield and stephane, upon it, behind which a winding path leads up to a small temple, with a portico of four Doric columns in front of it : a youth stands near the column, and a woman is halfway along the path. In the centre of the foreground a male and a female figure (both draped) are seen in conversation. On the right of the path in the middle distance is a building resembling the Pantheon, with six composite columns and no pediment : on each side of it is an obelisk. In front of it on a high base is a statue of a female divinity. To the right is a small shrine, with a gable roof supported by columns, under which is a statue of Zeus with thunderbolts and sceptre, almost entirely hidden by one of the columns : a male figure is hurrying towards the shrine from the left. 'Del Palazzo di Tito.' Cf. 12, etc.

155 × 252.

71 (M). Mosaic. Man with pointed cap pouring from vase. To left a man runs away (head cut off). *Mosaico nel Palazzo Massimi* (see *Eng. p.* xxvi. No. 10). *Nett.* 155a (*Inv.* 11403) (reversed) ; *Holk.* i. 63. Now in Madrid (Hübner, *op. cit.*, No. 406 ; *Mus. Arq.* No. 360). For the vase cf. on *supra*, 36. **Plate XIV.**

180 × 115.

Plate XIV. 72. Landscape painting (vertical): architecture. To left a nude male statue on a column with a staff in the left hand, and a globe in the right: then a small shrine with a draped female statue in it: then a long, low building: then a small closed shrine: to the right are three men, one of whom issues from the long, low building: then a boat with two more: in the right foreground is a man fishing. Mountains in the background. *Ad Sanctam Mariam maiorem rep.* 227 × 172.

Holk. ii. 56 (the original pen sketch, with colour notes). Cf. 48 *supra*.

73 (3 on front, 21 on back). Painting—from the Vatican Virgil.¹ A Phrygian shepherd seated to right in a throne with two steps (red cloak over blue robe): to left standing figure similar (two red stripes up blue robe, pink trousers below): to left again two standing figures (yellow cloaks, red robe and trousers, with vertical blue stripes up them). *f. In Bibliotheca Vaticana.*

Cors. 125a (Eng. T. xi. 3); *Holk.* ii. 76; *Uffizi* 14882; *Nett.* 174, *f.* (Inv. 11428), same size and colouring. There are in *Nett.* (174, a-e) five other pictures of the same set (a=*Cappp.* 285. 41, *Uff.* 14884, Eng. T. xxii. 4; b=*Holk.* i. 28; c=*Holk.* i. 23, *Uff.* 14881, *Cors.* 125b (Eng. T. xi. 5); d=*Holk.* ii. 74; e=*Holk.* i. 56, *Uff.* 14883). Those in the *Uffizi* are all pen drawings 146 × 96; and 14851-7 are other drawings from the same MS.

168 × 123.

ETON III. (Bn. 6)

1-23. *Bartoli. Villa Hadriani.*

Plate XV. 1 (o). Mosaic pavement (?). Black and white border with peacocks: in a square panel in centre seated female figure under tree to left, draped in red and yellow: two other youthful figures (apparently male) approach her from the right, the right-hand one with red drapery hanging from the shoulders.

296 × 371.

Plate XV. 2 (m). Mosaic pavement (?). In centre female sits on a rock with drapery over her legs, and a bunch of flowers in her uplifted right hand, towards which a little child outstretches his hands. The rest is black: in the corners are single figures, resembling closely those in iv. 39.

287 sq.

¹ *Cod. Vat. Lat. 3225* (published in fac-simile as vol. i. of the series of *codices e vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi*).

3-23. Elaborate ceiling designs, square, except where otherwise noted. (but cf. No. 13).

3 (T on back). In centre circle female figure hovering, with a scarf over her head: eight other female figures in the surrounding compartments. Four hold pieces of drapery in front of them, the others have various attributes. These last = *Eton*, iv. 42, 49, *Holk.* ii. 54, 3; while one (a female figure holding a bunch of grapes in her uplifted right hand) I have not as yet identified. Soane Museum, vol. xxvi. f. 180. 315 sq.

4 (S). The centre is very similar to ii. 21 (*Eng. T.* xvi. 4). Amphitrite is represented in a car drawn to the right by two seahorses, which are seen entirely out of the water! Her drapery flies behind her. On the right a Cupid with an arrow in his right hand and a palm in his left advances towards her. 324 sq.

5 (R). In the central circle is Jupiter seated on a cloud, with drapery covering his lower limbs and his right shoulder: in his uplifted right hand he holds a thunderbolt. 342 sq.

6 (P). In the centre is a diamond within a square, in which hovers a female figure, with drapery covering her lower limbs, and holding a scarf in front of her with both hands. 334 sq.

7 (M). In the central circle is a wheel-like pattern of different colours. At the sides are four panels, each showing scenes of dancing and sacrifice, with four or five figures in each, supported by pairs of sphinxes. 336 sq.

8. 1 (N). In the central circle is a female figure hovering, with a scarf over her head and drapery over her lower limbs, leaving her left leg bare. In each of the irregular spaces on the four sides is a vase of flowers, with a bird flying towards it. The rest of the design is taken up by foliage. Soane, *vol. cit.*, f. 168, 182.

8. 2 (N). In the centre in an octagon is Amphitrite, drawn to the left by two sea-snakes: she holds a torch in her right hand. 329 sq.

9 (O). In the central circle is a female figure, with drapery over her left shoulder and her lower limbs: in her right hand she holds a jug, in her left a patera. 353 sq.

10 (L). Female figure in central circle, riding a sea-goat to left, with a torch in her left hand. Cameron 67 (Villa Hadriani). 328 sq.

11 (I). Bellerophon holding Pegasus by the bridle in central diamond. Cameron 68 (Villa Hadriani), 69 (detail do.). 348 sq.

12 (V). Winged victory with palm in right and garland in left in central square. Cameron 70 (Villa Hadriani). 346 sq.

13 (G). = I. 23 q.v. (there shown as a mosaic: a far less elaborate rendering) *Cors.* II, 77. (*Eng. T.* i. 5, vii. 4) *Pavimento di musaico della d^a camera sepolcrale* [Vigna Moroni, Via Appia, 1706]. This gives a good idea of Bartoli's veracity! *Capp.* 184, 84. 332 sq.

14 (F). In central square Hermes with petasus and caduceus, seated on his drapery, rides a ram to the left. *Holk.* ii. 46 (a quarter plan on a much larger scale—pen drawing). *Ornamento di una stanza antica tutta di stucco di basso rilievo.* 353 sq.

Plate XVI.

15 (E). In central circle a winged draped female figure holding a kind of shrine in circle: in angles four winged figures: between are rectangular panels with sacrifices. Cf. *Holk.* ii. 24, 34 (not same). 336 sq.

16 (D). In central circle a female figure hovering: her lower limbs (except part of the right leg) are covered by drapery. In her right hand she holds a disk, in the left a fillet. In four of the twelve subsidiary circles are heads of Medusa. 350 sq.

17 (C). In central circle a female figure hovering, with her lower limbs draped: a disk is in her right hand, a torch in her left. In four of the eight surrounding panels are Tritons and sea-monsters. Cameron 66 (Villa Hadriani). 350 sq.

18 (B). In the central diamond a draped female figure with long wings advances to the left, holding a bowl uplifted in both hands. In each of the four surrounding panels are two figures seated, one on each side of a vase or pedestal which is in the centre. 341 sq.

19 (A). In the central diamond Diana is seated on a cloud: her lower limbs are draped, and a scarf flies above her head. She has a crescent on her brow and a fillet in her outstretched right hand, and a spear in her left. *Soane, vol. cit.* f. 189. 342 sq.

20 (iv. on front in pencil). Cf. i. 31 (not identical). In the centre is a rayed head of the Sun, with drapery on the shoulders. (Soane, *vol. cit.* f. 179, 185). 343 sq.

21 (iii). In the central circle a draped female figure sits on a cloud to the right, holding a snake (?) in her uplifted left hand. 344 sq.

22 (ii). In the central octagon a draped female figure, with the arms and the right leg bare, flies to the right: she has a garland of flowers on her head and holds a spray of flowers in her hands. 334 sq.

23 (i). In the central circle a youth hovers, with drapery over his left shoulder. He holds a spear in his right hand and a disk in his left. In each corner are single figures standing in front of curtains. 338 sq.

24. Ceiling of the first room of the two hitherto accessible under peristyle of Domus Flavia. Comm. Boni's recent excavations have brought to light other portions of the same building, which he considers to be an earlier Imperial Palace erected by Tiberius, Caligula, or Claudius. (Cf. *infra*, 26, iv. 100; vi. 14). Piccini, *Vienna*, No. 114 of Egger's Catalogue. There is also a fine coloured drawing in the dining-room of the Soane Museum. Bartoli, *Volta trovata nel Monte Palatino*, 1721. Mannochi, *Windsor Inv.* 11048; Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* Suppl. iii. Pl. 60. Ponce, *Bains de Livie*, Pl. 3; Ronczewski, *Gewölbeschmuck*, p. 34, Fig. 21. Eton shows baskets of flowers in the diamonds: the figures in the circles are probably capricious. They have been cut out and removed from the ceiling itself. 313 × 513.

25. In the central diamond are the draped busts of husband and wife. In the four lateral circles are busts of Jupiter, Mercury, Minerva, and Diana. Bartoli, *Volta trovata nel Monte Palatino*, 1721. 337 sq.

26 (N—in pencil). In the central circle Pegasus gallops to the right: in each of the eight subordinate circles is a single figure. *Volta trovata nel Palatino*, Anno 1721. Montfaucon *Ant. Expl.* Suppl. iii. Pl. 58. Breval *Remarks on several parts of Europe* i, plate before p. 85.—both of whom give the same locality. Montfaucon in his text (161 sqq.) expressly cites Francesco Bartoli as the author of the drawings. Caylus, f. 69 (?); Cab. des Estampes G. d. 2, cited by Lanciani 168 init. *Volta trovata nel Monte Palatino*, 1721. 333 sq.

27. Large oblong wall with five compartments above and five below, divided by columns below and caryatids and telamones above. *Fran^{co} Bartoli Disegno*.¹ *Badd.* 108, 109, 126 *q.v.* (some differences—noticeably in the top right-hand compartment is a nude male figure with a spear; at Eton a draped female!). *Holk.* ii. 42 (left half—pencil), 38, 62 (details—the two right-hand scenes below). *Caylus*, ii, iv, xii–xiv. (*Eng. T.* xxiv. 2, 4, xxv. 6, xxvi. 1, 2) (details—the right-hand and left-hand panel above and three central scenes below). 237 × 574.

28–42. Ceilings from the 'Palazzo di Tito.'

28 (13). Husband and wife (busts) in central circle: four other busts in minor circles. *Volta del Palazzo di Tito. Nett.* 149 (*Inv.* 11394); *Holk.* i. 1, 54 (three of the medallions—reversed and colours differ); ii. 14, 77; Coleraine, vii. 16; *App.* 4; *Nett.* also gives *App.* 7a joined to it (= *supra* ii. 22); *Caylus*, xxiii. (*Eng.* xxvii. 5) *Pittura Anticha nel orto de Frati di S. Gregorio nel Monte Celio trouata nel Tempo di Papa Alessandro Settimo.* Cf. *Caylus*, xxiv. xxv. and *supra* ii. 22–24 for the lunettes. *L.* 174. 562 × 420.

29. *Bartoli Palazzo di Tito.*

In the central circle husband and wife sit together to the right: their child (?) draped advances towards them from the left, bringing flowers; and above the husband's head a Cupid bearing a garland flies to the right. 308 sq.

¹ The site of the discovery is given by *Caylus*, who has a plan of the building (a corridor with several rooms) on Pl. i. (*Eng. T.* xxiv. 1): *Fabrica antica scoperta l'anno 1668 nelle rovine della casa di Tito dalla parte occidentale del colosseo e lontano da esso palmi 250 (55 metres), cf. Lanciani 176. Hülsen, Rom. Mitt. xi. (1896) 217: Hülsen-Jordan, Topogr. i. 3, 322. Bartoli Mem. 3 apud Fea Misc. i. 222, facendosi la cava nell' orto di una tal Signora de' Nobili, nella parte settentrionale del Colosseo, furono trovate diverse stanze sotterranee, etc.*

Hülsen considers that Eton *Mahog.* 2 was also found here (*Lanciani* refers the paintings of *fabbriche antiche* to Eton, ii. 12, 69, 70): and this seems certain for *Bartoli, Pict. Ant.* ii.–vi.; *Caylus* v. vi. (*Vitt.* 32–35, 93 = *Inv.* 9596–9, 9673: *Nett.* 158, 173 = *Inv.* 11407, 11419–22), and for Eton, ii. 2, 19 *q.v.* (*ib.* 71 is doubtful, for there is no warrant for ii. 3 having been actually found here). Cf. also *Cors.* 135 (*Eng.* xiii. 3), which, as *Michaelis* points out (*Jahrb.* 1910, 117), was not found in the Tomb of the Nasonii, but *ad Montis Coelii radices qua Amphitheatrum Flavium spectatur, in hortis Sertiorum anno MDCLXXXIII. inventa est; praeter hanc aliae quoque repertae fuerunt picturae et imagines antiquae, quae coloribus suis vestitae, una cum istac, quam attulimus, in supra laudato Cardinalis Camilli Maximi libro exhibentur.* (*Bellori ad Bartoli Sep. Nas. T.* xxiv. p. 160 ed. 1738. Cf. *Papers*, vi. p. 489).

30-36. On back *Volta del Palazzo di Tito*.

30-32. On front *Fran(cis)cus Bartolus Fecit Anno 1721*.

30. In central circle two male figures—nude Hercules with club to left, Bacchus to right with a cloak hanging behind him and an amphora in his uplifted left hand. *Holk. ii. 23* (344×340), Cameron 62 (Baths of Titus). 342 sq.

31. In central circle Mercury (?) with petasus and uplifted whip driving a car drawn by a seahorse: another seahorse advances by the side. 426×344.

32. In central circle (which is within an eight-pointed star) a draped Victory moves to the left, with a garland in her right hand, and a palm in her left. Cameron 64 (Thermae Titi). 405×313.

33. In the centre a draped female figure with a palm in her right hand stands arm-in-arm with a nude male figure with a spear in his left hand. 345 sq.

34. In the central circle is a female draped figure with her dress flying behind her, and a scarf held over her head. Montfaucon *Ant. Expl. Suppl. iii. Pl. 59, peinture à fresque d'une chambre des bains des Augustes à Rome*. Cf. text, p. 162. (Soane, *vol. cit. f. 190*). 332 sq.

35. In the central circle Mercury with petasus, caduceus, and winged shoes going to the left: he has a palm in his right hand, and drapery over his arms, which flies behind him. On front *Fran^{cus} Bartolus Fecit Anno 1721*. *Vitt. 100* (102), (*Inv. 9682*) gives a quarter of this. *Caylus, xxi. (Eng. T. xxvii. 3)*. 333 sq.

36 (R.T. ii. on back). In central circle a nude youth to the left, with an uncertain object in his right hand, stands arm-in-arm with a draped female figure with a crook in her left hand. In four of the minor circles there are busts. *Holk. ii. 21*. 342 sq.

37. In the central circle a draped female figure reclines to the left, with her left arm outstretched, and her right arm resting on a pillow (?) (not identical with the figure in ii. 16): on the right stands a flower-crowned youth with drapery which leaves his left arm and his legs bare. *Bartoli, Palazzo di Tito*. 294 sq.

38. In the central circle is a female bust crowned with flowers : in the field are vines with Cupids picking the grapes. *Volta del Palazzo di Tito.* 366 sq.

39. In the central circle is a wheel pattern, and outside this four panels, two with Cupids, one with a Victory with a vase, one with a draped female figure with a crook. *Volta del Palazzo di Tito.* Cameron 60 (Thermae Titi). 370 sq.

40. In the central circle is a youth with drapery over his right shoulder, the end of which he holds up with his left hand. In his right hand is a dish of fruit. *Volta del Palazzo di Tito.* 403 sq.

41. In the central circle is a draped female figure hovering to the left, with her right arm and breast bare : in her right hand she holds a garland, in her left a bowl of flowers. *Volta del Palazzo di Tito.* 461 × 376.

42. *Del Palazzo di Tito trouato nell' orto delle sette Sale contiguo alle Terme in sul monte Esquilino.* Still extant, as Dr. Weege informs me. *Esc.* 13*, *Vitt.* 19 (*Inv.* 9578)—a quarter sketch. *Holk.* ii. 17. Mirri 38, Ponce 37. In the central circle is a winged Victory. 478 × 296.

43. In the central circle is a youth similar to that in the centre of 41, but he holds a bunch of flowers in his right hand. In minor circles surrounding the central one are four wreathed busts. *Volta del Palazzo di Augusto.* *Holk.* ii. 19. 343 sq.

44. In the central circle a draped female figure walks to the left, holding a vase in both hands : in the surrounding lunettes are four recumbent figures. *Volta del Palazzo di Augusto.* *Holk.* ii. 16. 322 sq.

45. In the central circle a youthful male draped bust. *Volta del Palazzo di Augusto.* *Coleraine*, vii. 24 (255 × 305). 251 × 344.

46. In the centre a draped female figure riding on a goat to the right and carrying a torch (?) with a long staff. *Volta del Palazzo di Augusto.* Windsor *Portf. Archit. Drawings* (*Inv.* 11607) marked Pietro Sante Bartoli ; *Holk.* ii. 10, both of same size. Cameron 58 (Palace of Augustus). 342 sq.

47. In centre a draped female figure riding on an eagle to the right and looking back to the left : she holds her scarf over her head. *Volta del Palazzo di Augusto.* *Holk.* ii. 22 (same size). 360 × 365.

48. In the central circle a youthful Bacchus with two boys, one of whom holds a thyrsus. *Volta del Palazzo di Augusto. App. 3* (where it is rightly attributed to *Thermae Titi: 'Volta di Bacco'*); Cameron 65 (Baths of Titus). 282 × 325.

49. In the central circle is a draped winged Victory (full face) with a palm in her right hand and a garland in her left. *Volta del Palazzo di Augusto. Caylus, 22 (Eng. T. xxvii. 4), Ornamento nella volta del sepolcro superiore (i.e. that marked Q in the plan of the tombs at Villa Corsini). Vitt. 71 (Inv. 9648). Cameron 57 (Palace of Augustus).*

318 sq.

50. Mosaic pavement, black on white: Bacchus on a donkey goes to right. *Pavimento di Bacco del Palazzo di Augusto. Caylus f. 70, (Paris Cab. des Est. G. d. 2, No. 3871 sqq., cited by Lanciani 168 init.); Holk. ii. 25; Müntz, Rev. Arch. (Dec. 1876), p. 406, reproduced in L'Arte, 1904, 460; Michel, S. Costanza, p. 8. A forgery according to Wilpert.*

304 sq.

51. (4) Mosaic. Elephant fighting against a bull: to right a man on a camel leads a lion. Aventine near S. Sabina, now in the Vatican. *E templo Dianae in Monte Aventino hodie.....Holk. i. 46; Nogara, Mosaici Ant. T. xx. 1 and p. 6; Lanciani, 189; Cors. 145 (Eng. T. xii. 6), Anno MDCCXI in horto S. Sabinae Montis Aventini; nunc in Vaticanis aedibus. Cf. other drawings of same set, infra iv. 34-38. They are all coloured, whereas the mosaics are in black and white.*

190 × 475.

52. Ceiling in the Villa Madama = Cameron, 73.

Diam. 397.

ETON IV. (Bn. 7).

1. Mosaic. Group of philosophers. *Musaico del Sig. S. Marchese de' Cavalieri. Ny Carlsberg, 391. Cors. 9, 127 (Eng. T. i. 4, xi. 6); Capp. 284. 90 (Eng. T. xv. 5). Cf. Eng. p. xxvii. Fig. 10 (where this drawing is reproduced.)*

19 × 26.

2. Neptune, who has dismounted from his chariot, drawn by a pair of winged seahorses, hurries to left towards a nymph, who falls in trying to escape him. To the right is another nymph sitting on a base. On front *Francesco Bartoli Antiquario di Sua Santità Papa Clemente XI. On back Nella Camera di Venere Vicino a Pozzuolo.*

117 × 253.

Plate XVI. 3. A lion tears a leopard with both his front paws. *Musaico Antico nel Palazzo Mignanelli.*

151 × 141 (not including pencil sketch of pattern in margin).

4-33 Pozzuoli.¹ Graceful oblong panels—very small with two figures as a rule, gray on red ground.

4, 5	} plain background.	6-8	} red background.
9, 10		11-16	
17		18, 19	
20, 21		23, 24	
25-30, 32		31, 33	

Franco Bartoli on front. *Nella Camera di Venere vicino a Pozzuolo* on back. These legends are repeated on all the drawings.

4. Two cherubs holding a bunch of grapes. 108 × 133.

5. Two cherubs (like 4). 108 × 133.

6. Single cherub with patera going to left. 108 × 133.

7. Two winged cherubs with patera. 108 × 133.

8. Cherub with amphora moving left to right, and cherub with patera and grapes moving right to left. 108 × 133.

9. Female with drapery over her lower limbs running to left, with basket of flowers in front of her: reeds in background. White ground, colour greenish-gray. Legends as before. 104 × 163.

10. Closely similar, but direction reversed. 104 × 153.

11. Female figure seated on left on a stool covered with drapery: on right male figure with a cloth stretched out. 117 × 133.

12. Nude male figure seated on a stool on right: another nude figure advances from left bearing a basket of flowers. 117 × 133.

13. Nude female seated on seat to left: nude figure with dish approaches her from right. 112 × 133.

14. Nude male figure seated on altar with garland to right: nude female figure approaches him from behind from left. 112 × 157.

¹ These are very similar to the stuccoes of the tomb figured by Paoli, *Antichità di Pozzuoli*, Pl. 32, 34 (see Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (*Bibl. des Ec. Franç.* fasc. 98), p. 351): and, though the correspondence is in no case exact, it is probable that they belonged to this or a similar tomb at Pozzuoli.

15. Nude female figure stands on left leaning against pillar on which her drapery hangs : kneeling female figure coming from right holds her right foot. 112 × 133.
16. Male nude figure seated to left : on right male figure with staff and cloak over left arm : right forearm uplifted. 112 × 133.
17. Frieze with winged putti, whose bodies turn into foliage. 87 × 244.
18. On right a nude male figure has sunk on his knees : on left a nude male figure with a stone in each hand threatens to throw that in his right. 113 × 132.
19. On left nude female figure has fallen on left knee : a nude female figure with right arm outstretched approaches her from right. 112 × 133.
20. Male nude figure with pedum in left holds up with his right arm a female figure who holds her drapery up with her left hand : both are hovering in the air. 147 × 138.
21. Female figure with drapery over shoulders and lower limbs, hovering : kylix in her left. 129 × 113.
22. *Deest.*
23. Two panels, each 112 × 132.
To left : Female reclines, holding patera. To right : Male reclines holding patera.
24. Two panels, each 111 × 142.
To left : Male reclines, holding patera. To right : Female reclines, holding patera.
25. Seahorse prancing to left : double fish tail. 130 × 157.
26. Centaur going to left : club in right : chlamys on left arm. 126 × 157.
27. Sea-panther to left going to right : bearded Triton to right going left. 118 × 274.
28. Similar : reversed. 111 × 274.
29. Similar : but both going to left. 112 × 274.
30. Triton and seahorse : both going to right. 112 × 274.

31. On left bearded man sunk on right knee : a bearded man attacks him from right : on right female seated in a chariot. 115 × 238.

32. Two vases. 87 × 189.

33. On left two nymphs seizing a nude male figure (Hylas ?) : then a female reclining on a rock, to whom comes another from right. 114 × 346.

34-38. Mosaics. *Franco Bartoli sull' Aventino* on front ; *nel Monte Aventino* on back (except 37). Cf. *supra* iii. 51. Nogara *loc. cit.* All these are shown coloured as if they were paintings.

34. A cow and a boar attack one another. Nogara ix. 2.

136 × 317.

35. A mounted man pursues a bull : hind quarters of another visible beyond. *Cors.* 137 (*Eng. T.* xii. 4). Nogara ix. 3. 124 × 333.

36. Two men spearing two lions (?). *Cors.* 141 (*Eng. T.* xii. 3). Nogara ix. 4. 116 × 325.

Plate XVII.

37. *Franco Bartoli Musaico Antico trovato nell Monte Auentino il disegno e appresso a Nostro Sig(no)re.*

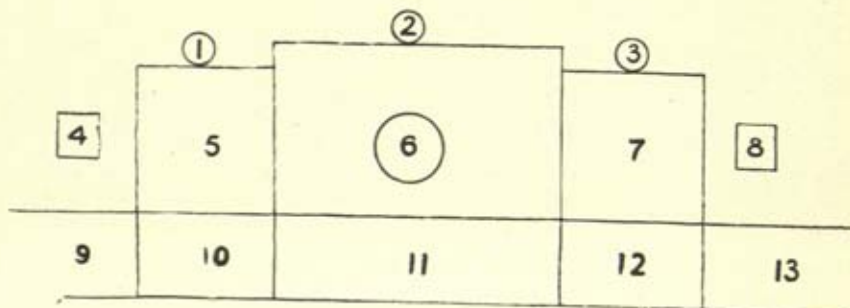
To right man on horseback, whose horse is on its knees, being attacked by a bear (?) from behind, which is biting its hind quarters. This is being speared by a man from the left : most of him is gone. Not in *Cors.*, nor in Nogara—apparently lost. 124 × 297.

38. *Franco Bartoli Aventino* on front. Dancing scene. *Cors.* 143 (*Eng.* xii. 5) ; Nogara ix. 5. 115 × 398.

Plate XVIII.

39. Large design of a wall with paintings. *In Aedibus Rospiliosi e Balneis Constantini M. Repert.* 1711. *Holk.* ii. 20 (colours differ entirely, and also some details). Turnbull gives the date 1718. 275 × 416.

The wall may be divided thus :—



Various small fragments of the wall still exist in the Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome (*M.-D.* 4110) though only seven of them are now exhibited: most of these were figured by d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, v. Pl. IV. (cited here as d'Ag.). As *M.-D.* observe, the paintings must be earlier than the period of Constantine. The types are represented as follows in the various illustrations, etc., that we have (= expresses identity; cf., similarity).

1. 3. Cf. *Holk.* ii. 73; *Holk.* i. 37; *Capp.* 284. 36, 52; *Eton*, iv. 65, 66, 69; *Cameron*, 47.

2. = *Capp.* 284. 42; *Holk.* i. 10; *Chatsw.* 16. Cf. *Eton*, iv. 68.

4. 8. 4. = *Eton*, iv. 72. Cf. *Eton*, iv. 73-77; *Turnb.* 36.

8. = *Eton*, i. 37; *Holk.* i. 26; *Capp.* 284. 18; *App.* 17 (*pictura antiqua in Thermis Constantinianis reperta*).

5. 7. 5. = *Capp.* 284. 27;

7. = *Holk.* ii. 53, 1; *Cameron*, 41; *Eton*, iv. 64; *Capp.* 284, 46. Cf. *Eton*, i. 44; iv. 42, 43, 54, 60, 63.

6. Cf. *Eton*, iv. 61, 62; *Capp.* 284. 23.

9. 13. 9. = *Eton*, iv. 41; *Holk.* i. 41, ii. 53, 1; *Capp.* 284. 24. Cf. *Eton*, iv. 49-51; *Holk.* ii. 54, 1, 3.

10. 12. 10. = *Eton*, iv., 48; *Cameron*, 45. Cf. *Eton*, iv. 40.

11. = *Capp.* 284. 45; *Holk.* i. 4; *Chatsw.* 26.

There follow (Nos. 40-67; cf. 72-77) details of this wall and of the same room. *In aedibus Rospigliosi*.

40.¹ (No. 12 on back). From an aedicula (like 10 or 12). Female

¹ It may be useful to give the references in Turnbull.
Turnbull 31. 32, Type 1, 3 (not identical) 31=*Holk.* ii. 73; *d'Ag.* 11; 32=*Holk.* i. 37;
d'Ag. 12.

33. Type 6 (=iv. 61), *d'Ag.* 9.

34. Farnese Palace (from House of Livia—cf. *Röm. Mitt.* 1895, 271, now Naples 8303 par. LV.).

35. *App.* xv. (cf. *Eton* ii. 12); *Holk.* i. 60; *d'Ag.* 6.

36. Type 4, 8 (=iv. 77). *d'Ag.* 14.

37. Type 6 (=iv. 62). *d'Ag.* 8, 17.

38-40. Small cherubs on foliage (not *Eton*); *d'Ag.* 5.

41. =iv. 71; *d'Ag.* 2.

42. Type 5, 7=iv. 43. *d'Ag.* 10, 18.

figure in blue. Yellow aedícula; red background. *Capp.* 284. 30, 49.
197 × 157.

41. (13). Female figure in yellow, bow and arrow in right hand. *Holk.* i. 41; *Capp.* 284. 24: a repetition which, however, has the bow and arrow in the left hand.
197 × 157.

42 (16). Female figure in blue with caduceus (like 5 or 7). White ground. *Holk.* ii. 53. 2; *Cameron*, 51. Cf. *supra* iii. 3. 180 × 140.

43 (14). Female figure in blue and yellow with tambourine (like 5 or 7). White ground. *Turnb.* 42; *Caylus* (1781), 46; *d'Ag.* 10, 18.

44. Female figure with torch in right hand, flower in left on foliage pink white and brown. White ground. *Chats.* 38; *Cameron* 50; *Capp.* 284, 56.
194 × 139.

From 44 on the drawings are signed *Fran^{cus} Bartolus fecit*. All have white ground.

45. Female figure with arrows in foliage. *Chats.* 58; *Capp.* 284. 43.
194 × 138.

46. Female figure plucking grapes to left in foliage. *Cameron*, 46.
194 × 138.

47. Nude youth with thyrsus goatskin and crater among foliage.
194 × 140.

48. Apollo (?) among foliage (same figure as 10). *Cameron*, 45.
194 × 140.

49-51. Type of 9, 13, but not identical. *Holk.* ii. 54. 1, 3 belong to same type.

49 (20). Female figure on pedestal holding sickle and basket of fruit. *Capp.* 284. 14; *Holk.* ii. 53. 3; *Chats.* 18; cf. *supra* iii. 3. 186 × 140.

50 (18). Female figure on pedestal with patera and amphora. *Holk.* i. 8, 46; ii. 78.
186 × 140.

43. Type 4 (=iv. 72 rev.); *d'Ag.* 15.

44. Golden House (*Weege, op. cit.*, p. 177, d).

45. *d'Ag.* 4.

46. *d'Ag.* 13.

47. *d'Ag.* 16.

48. *Weege, op. cit.*, p. 177, c).

The figures that are not denoted as belonging to one of the types 1-13, may be taken to belong to some other part of the same building.

51 (15). Female figure on pedestal holding in each hand a patera on which is a small figure. *Holk.* i. 7, 42; ii. 54, 2. *Cameron*, 53.

186 × 140.

52. Female standing on foliage, green dress, yellow scarf.
Cappp. 284. 47.

195 × 140.

53. Similar to 52. *Chats.* 30. Jug in right: dish with cones in left.

195 × 140.

54. Mercury to right, nude with yellow scarf (like 5, 7). *Chats.* 34;
Cappp. 284. 16 (moving), 22 (still); *Cameron*, 42.

194 × 140.

55-58. Similar to 52, 53.

194 × 140.

55. Female draped to left: conical object in right: bough to left.

56 (19). Female draped figure with *stephane*: dish in left hand.
Holk. i. 22 (no snake); *Cameron*, 52 (snake on dish).

57. Similar to 56: snake on dish: but left arm, uplifted over head, holds a sprig of olive (?). *Chats.* 19; *Cappp.* 284, 25.

58. Female figure with *stephane*: staff in right, patera in left.
Chats. 25; *Holk.* i. 40.

59. Non-existent.

60. Mercury as 5 above (framed in different foliage and colours differ).
Chats. 20; *Cappp.* 284. 27.

194 × 143.

61. Apollo, lyre in left, green drapery—peacock's feathers above.
Like 6. *Chats.* 7; *Turnb.* 33; *Cappp.* 284. 13; *Cameron*, 44; *Caylus* (1781), 45 (red drapery); *d'Ag.* 9.

196 × 138.

62. Apollo (identical with 6). *Chats.* 29; *Turnb.* 37; *Cappp.* 284. 23
(*Eng. T.* xv. 3); *Cameron*, 43; *Caylus* (1783), 44.

202 × 138.

63. Youth to left in red drapery: serpent on a staff to his right.
Type of 7. *Chats.* 23.

202 × 138.

64. Youth (identical with 7)—colours differ. *Cappp.* 284. 46.

202 × 138.

65. Type of 1, 3. *Chats.* 15; *Cappp.* 284. 58. In circle. 162 diam.

66. Type of 1, 3. *Turnb.* 31 (reversed, without wings); *Capp.* 284. 20 (?) do.; *Cameron*, 48 (exact); *Caylus* (1783), 43.

67 (17). Type of 2. Female fluttering: basket of flowers in right, bunch of grapes in left. *Chats.* 17; *Capp.* 284. 19 (?) (standing still).
Diam. 148.

68. Type of 2. Youth with garlands on head standing: staff in right, pail in left.
Diam. 154.

69. Type of 1, 3. Female figure seated. *Turnb.* 32 (reversed, without wings); *Caylus* (1783), 42.
Diam. 155.

70 (10). Landscape. In the centre is a representation of the Pantheon: on the left a long wall ending in a pavilion with two windows: in front of it a female draped figure on a column and an open shrine with two Ionic pilasters, and a female seated statue (staff in right, patera in left) in it: on right a square shrine with a pointed roof and an Ionic temple with four columns and a dome, in front of which stand statues of Fortune and of a female figure pouring a libation. In the central foreground are three figures. *In aedibus Rospigliosi.* *Capp.* 284. 9 (*Eng. T.* xv. 2); *supra*, i. 41; *Holk.* i. 3; *Chats.* 5.
143 × 242.

71 (11¹). Painting. River-scene with two pygmies on an island, etc. *In aedibus Rospigliosi.* *Holk.* i. 21; *Turnb.* 41 (*Palazzo Rospigliosi*); *d'Ag.* 2 (not seen by *M.-D.*).
265 × 211.

72-77. A group of scenes in rectangular panels—all *in aedibus Rospigliosi*—from the large wall No. 39. Type of 4, 8.

72. Three figures. Nude male figure on right holding palm-branch; to left, seated half-draped female figure holding out a wreath. Behind her draped female figure with basket of flowers. Between two first a stone vase on a pedestal. On right, a tree and a wall against which leans a shield. Identical with 4. *Turnb.* 43; *Caylus* (1781), 53; *d'Ag.* 15.
206 × 153.

73 (4). A scene of sacrifice—two female figures to the left, one standing, the other seated. There is a bronze statuette of a goddess on a column, then a smoking altar, then an olive tree: to the right is a youth with a

¹ 11 on back: 9 on front.

garland in his left and a spear in his right. Meleager and Atalanta(?) with *simulacrum* of Artemis. *In aedibus Rospigliosi, e Balneis Constantini*. *Holk.* i. 31 (a loggia with columns and architrave only added).
204 × 159.

74. Similar—two female figures (one seated on a rock, one standing) and boy with tambourine to left. Column with bowl on it and tree in centre: youth to right (Bacchus?). *Holk.* i. 19.
203 × 154.

75. Similar—three female figures—one to left standing with tambourine and pipes, the centre one sits, the one to right stands with her right index finger to her mouth, a thyrsus in her left. Behind her is an olive tree and a wall with a column. In the centre background a river flowing through a landscape.
202 × 158.

76. Youth to left with palm, nude; in centre an urn: then two females nude: one standing with vitta and dish, the other seated with disk: a rock in background.
202 × 181.

77. Pendant to 76. On left a nude youth with pedom embraces a draped female figure bearing a basket of flowers on her head: on the right a nude river-god reclines. Behind him are rocks. *Holk.* i. 65; *Capp.* 284. 1; *App.* 13; *Turnb.* 36; *Caylus* (1781), 52; *d'Ag.* 14; *M.-D.* iii. p. 239.
213 × 158.

77-84. Small panel paintings lettered *del Palazzo di Augusto* (79, 82-84 wrongly) and signed by Bartoli at back. Blue ground.

78 (3). A man with a palm in his left hand moving to the right. *Capp.* 285. 21; (*Eng. T.* xix. 3) (with spear in right hand added); *Vitt.* 104a (*Inv.* 9685) in pencil.
143 × 116.

79 (4). A satyr and two women dancing (?). Blue ground. *Capp.* 285. 34 (*Eng. T.* xxi. 2); *Holk.* ii. 71 (pencil sketch), *Pittura trouata nel mede(s)mo orto di Stefano Guglielmini*. Cf. *Eton*, i. 26, 28, ii. 22, 25, etc., and 82-84; *Lanciani*, 174, 175.
138 × 194.

80 (5). A youth seizes a woman by the body. *Holk.* ii. 67 (pen; youth green drapery, woman crimson, red fillet: blue ground); *Capp.* 285. 3 (*Eng. T.* xvi. 5).
143 × 106.

81 (5). Hesione and Heracles (?). *Supra*, ii. 10; *Capp.* 285. 24 (Eng. T. xix. 6); *Holk.* ii. 43; *Caylus*, xvi. (Eng. T. xxvi. 5) *Pittura laterale alla porta G.* (Villa Corsini?). 143 × 108.

82 (6). Male figure reclining—drunken Hercules (?). *Capp.* 285. 28 (Eng. T. xx. 3). 133 × 123.

83 (6). Female figure (Danae ?) reclining in front of a curtain. *Capp.* 285. 26 (Eng. T. xx. 4). 135 × 137.

84 (6). A woman sacrificing a ram: shield-like object on ground to right. *Capp.* 285. 9 (Eng. T. xvii. 3), chocolate ground. 133 × 123.

82–84 form a group, being all panels in the same wall, which is given as a whole in *Holk.* ii. 58 (a pen drawing), and *Caylus*, xxvi (Eng. T. xxviii. 2). *Holk.* has the following legends: *Pitture antiche trouate sotto terra nel orto di Stefano Guglielmini l'anno 1686 dietro l'orto di S. Gio. e Paolo a mano dritta della strada che dal coliseo conduce alla nauicella.* That of *Caylus* is similar, but adds that the marble dado below was 7 palms (1.99 m.) high from the pavement, and had fallen. The colours are as follows according to *Holk.* 82: blue ground; 83, blue ground: curtain lake, drapery yellow; 84, female's drapery yellow and blue, scarf crimson, ground 'pauonazzo di sale.' They are mostly accurate in *Eton*, except in 84.

85 (8). Painting *del Palazzo di Augusto*. Two females and boy to left: a herm of a boy in centre: an island in background. On right are two men with staves, one seated, with green drapery: behind them is architecture. Not a part of iii. 44. 155 × 155.

Plate XIX. 86. (10) Wall painting, with the beginning of the vaulting shown. *Del Palazzo di Augusto* (wrongly). Really from the Golden House. *Vitt.* 23 (24) (*Inv.* 9585), *quarta stanza al coliseo*. Cf. also 32–38 (34–40) (*Inv.* 9596–9602) with Michaelis' notes, and *Caylus* i (Eng. T. xxiv. 1); *Lanciani* 176, 178 (who has missed this identification, and is quite wrong (*Ruins*, p. 381) in supposing that these drawings have anything to do with the stucco decorations of the Colosseum itself). Cf. Egger, *Cod. Esc.* text, p. 115. The error is also noticed by Michaelis (*Jahrb. d. Inst.* xxv. (1910) 113, n. 2. *Eton* shows two panels more to the right than *Vitt.* 298 × 179.

87 (21). Two draped female figures seated : the one to the left holds a staff in her right hand, and a garland in her left : the one to the right holds a globe in her right hand, and touches another (which rests on a stool) with her left. Above them Fame flies to the right (her trumpet is not shown). *Del Palazzo di Augusto. Holk. ii. 40* (pencil).

215 × 166.

88 (21). Female figures seated. *Del Palazzo di Augusto. Holk. ii. 35* (the two upper figures) (pencil).

142 × 159.

89-94. (All numbered 22 and lettered *del Palazzo di Augusto*). Decorative mosaics in the vaulting of S. Costanza.

89. A photograph is given in *Venturi, Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, i. (ed. 1), Fig. 96.

211 × 173.

90. *Venturi*, Fig. 94.

147 × 211.

91. *Venturi*, Fig. 91.

167 × 212.

92. *Venturi*, Fig. 92.

184 × 167.

93. *Venturi*, Fig. 99 (lower half—inaccurately represented).

162 × 221.

94. *Venturi*, Fig. 97.

179 × 150.

95 (22). *Del Palazzo di Augusto*. A wall with Bacchic scenes on right and left : an ornament with a herm in centre.

173 × 305.

96 (16). S. Costanza. Copied from Francesco d'Olanda. *Del Palazzo di Augusto* [sic!!]. *Cod. Esc.* 28-1-20 f. 27; *Vitt.* 18 (*Inv.* 9576); *Holk.* i. 52. Cf. *Baddeley*, 105; *Egger, Krit. Verzeichniss*, i. Taf. ii. 2; *Cod. Esc.* 4^v (*Egger Text.* p. 60).

204 × 393.

97 (12). Two seated females : in centre statue of a goddess. *Del Palazzo di Augusto. Capp.* 285. 15 (*Eng. T.* xviii. 5)—a wall in background added.

215 × 172.

98. Mosaic. Birds. *In S^{tae} Mariae trans Tiberim* (still in sacristy). *Cors.* 133 (*Eng. T.* xii. 2); *Capp.* 284. 100; *Holk.* i. 17; *Ciampini, Vet. Mon.* i. Pl. 32, Fig. 1.

242 × 175.

99 (18). Athena and three women. *Del Palazzo di Augusto. Capp.* 285. 35 (*Eng. T.* xxi. 6); Winckelmann *Mon. Ined.* 18 (from *Cod. Capp.* —he notes the locality as *Terme di Tito*); *Holk.* ii. 55 (pencil and pen: blue ground). 146 × 136.

100. Plan and elevation of 'baths' on Palatine. Windsor, A 1, (Michaelis, xvii.; now Vol. 167) f. 27 (*Inv.* 9247); (cf. Lanciani, *Röm. Mitt.* 1894, 22, *sqq.*; *Ruins and Excav.* 163; Coleraine vii. 26 (reversed), 27 (detail enlarged); Kirkhall engravings (copies at *Eton*, Bn. 13, 51–54); Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* Suppl. iii. Pl. 57; Breval, *Remarks*,¹ i. 85; Coleraine vii. 19–21; Jordan-Hülsen, i. 3, 91 n. 117. *Franco Bartoli* delineò on front. 293 × 431.

For the locality cf. Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* (1895) 255, who had fixed it exactly right from Bianchini's plan (p. 154 and T. viii.) under the Triclinium, where indeed it has recently been brought to light. According to Breval (*op. cit.*) the pavement was that represented *supra*, ii. 43, and the ceiling that shown *supra*, iii. 26; both have now been entirely destroyed.

IV. 100 a. Legend to the plan.

Famoso Bagnio scoperto l'Anno 1721 nelle Rouine dell Palazzo Magiore, il qual Bagnio, era di Augusto nell Monte Palatino:—

A. Facciata della Muraglia della stanza quale era foderata di Vari Marmori fini Mischi, il quale formauono un Bellissimo Ornamento con pitture di tutta la volta, intersiati con cristalli e ornamenti, a oro—

B. Specchi di porfido verde.

C. Bocaglie di condotti di metallo doue sgorgauano le aque p(er) lauare.

D. Moriciolo il quale riteneua l'acqua all'altezza di tutto il ginocchio, arivato á quell segno, sgorgaua via ne feritori come si Mostra ne segni punteggiati che veniua, á cadere in un gran condotto di piombo, in forma di cassone sotto all detto Bagnio, il quale occupaua tutto la larghezza.

¹ 'A Bathing Chamber, supported by Pillars of *Giallo* and *Verde Antico*, and of Porphyry, whose Bases and Capitals were of Brass, with a *Soffito* and Pavement all of *Mosaic*, and the richest Incrustations that Art could be capable of, was scarce sooner discovered than lost again, being pulled to pieces by these *Vandals*, merely for the intrinsick Value of the Materials, which were scandalously retail'd to common Stone-Cutters and Dealers in *Pietre Commesse*.

'A vast Salon [which he conjectures to have been the *Iovis Caenaculum*] underwent the same fate.'

F. Colonne di porfido che girauano intorno alla stanza all N° di 12 di ordine che sosteneuano la volta.

E. Scala che discendeua nell detto Bagno pure foderata di vari Marmeri Mischi.

G. Fontana doue andaua l'aqua, in un cassone di piombo e con due grossi condotti si divideua nell dare l'aqua giu nell bagno.

Tutto l'ossature dell bagno sono di Marmero fino bianco il fregio dell corniconcino è di porfido le colonne segniate di rosso sono di porfido, e le altre sono di giallo Anticho; capitelli, e basi sono di Metallo corintio; li lauori delle Nichie sono di serpentino verde e porfido.

H. Pianta dell sudetto Bagno.

ETON V. (B n. 8).

I-14, 16-43. All lettered at back: *Bartoli, Disegno trouato nel Monte Palatino*, with number. There is a note at the beginning: 'Numbers vii, xxxii, xxxx, xxxxi, xxxxii are in y^e great case with y^e large Drawings (Number xxxvii placed I do not find)'—the sentence in brackets seems to have been cancelled, and in fact No. xxxvii is now 30 of this volume. The others are *Mahog.* 5-8, 10; while No. 7 of this volume is really No. vii. of another set (*infra*, 44 *sqq.*).

1 (i). Group of five female figures to right (one, semi-nude, seated, the rest standing) all pointing to left, where is a column with a disk on it, in front of an urn, into which one youth has just thrown a dish of flowers, while another brings a similar offering: to the left are two women. Date (1721) added. 218 × 360.

2 (ii). Two female draped figures stand to the left, each holding a long trumpet (?): to the right a woman sits with her back to the spectator in front of a tree, while another advances towards her: on extreme right is a rock. 195 × 228.

3 (iii). Sacrifice: on left is a woman with head veiled, about to pour a libation on a flaming altar, behind her is an attendant: in the centre is a high square pillar with an egg (?) on top of it and a tree behind: in front of it a woman with a patera in her right and a dish of flowers in her left: to the right is a seated male figure, with a woman standing by him. 206 × 285.

4 (iv). Female figure seated on a seat on low base in centre : behind her to left are two female attendants, one holding a patera in her outstretched right hand : behind is a wall with festoons : further to the right a female figure advances holding a fillet : a male bearded figure follows her, and to right are two more male figures and a tree. 200 × 283.

5 (v). On left are three female figures round a circular altar : the right hand one holds a short cylinder :¹ to the right is a man bending a long bow (?), and behind him a draped female statue on a high pedestal in front of a tree : to the right a female figure, seated, watches him : one of her two attendants bears a tray, on which is a miniature pyramid.

190 × 344.

6 (vi). On left a pyramid in front of a tree : in front of it a male figure with petasus-like hat and a female figure hold a square box (?) : Further to right is a disk on a column standing on a base, against which rests a thyrsus : on left of it three women, one with a basket (?) on her head, and on right three more, one holding a dish.

190 × 331.

7 (vii). Bacchic scene. On right a boy holds a cradle on his head : to the right of him stand three women, one holding a bowl containing flowers : to the left two more, one holding a garland : further to the left, in front of a small shrine, with an epistyle supported by two Ionic columns, are three more, one kneeling with hands outstretched, one standing, holding a tambourine (?), and a third with her right hand stretched towards the kneeling figure and a kylix in her left. 189 × 330.

8 (viii). On the right a bearded suppliant kneels and holds a column which stands on a low base, with a disk on the top of it, under a tree from which two *oscilla* hang : behind him stands a woman with a tambourine (?) in her left hand : in the centre stands a statue of Vertumnus with sickle and *pedum*, against the base of which lies a thyrsus : to the left are three women, one with a basket of fruit on her head ; and to the left again are three men.

189 × 323.

9 (ix). Bacchus with a long *pedum* approaches Ariadne who unveils herself : behind her stand two attendants, one of whom holds a snake : two women with thyrsi and a man with a flower-wreathed staff

¹ Cf. *infra*, 20, 35, 41.

advance towards a pillar on the right : to the left are six more female figures, one with a lyre. Date (1721) added in this and the following up to 14.

189 × 491.

10 (x). Bacchic scene : on right a kneeling female figure uncovers some mystic object (cradle ?) : to her right stands a female figure with a dish of fruit, and to the left three more women : in the centre a club rests upon a rock, behind which is a tree, and three more female figures : then comes a girl holding a basket over her head, and to the left again three more women.

188 × 467.

11 (xi). Bacchic festival : fourteen figures, including, on the left, a figure (statue ?) of a draped female with a pedom in her right hand and a dish in her left : the female figure in front of her holds a long board-like object diagonally : in the centre behind a tree is a square pillar : a male figure further to the right holds two board-like objects.

181 × 482.

12 (xii). Female seated figure on a chair in centre in front of two trees holding a disk on her left knee : behind her are three female attendants : a man in plumed helmet, cloak and greaves, approaches her from the right, and behind him are two women : to the left a man holding a spear hurries away, and a woman points to the left. Behind to the left is a wall.

179 × 265.

13 (xiii). Sacrifice. Three women stand by an altar under a tree to left : two men lead a sheep from the right, with two women standing by.

178 × 291.

14 (xiv). Female (?) figure seated on throne in centre : an attendant behind her : a man and two women stand, and one woman kneels, holding fruits, under a tree to her left : a nude man who approaches her from the right starts back in surprise : to the right of him are two other men, both draped.

178 × 252.

15 (xv). Sacrificial scene : a bearded emperor (?) stands by an altar : to his left are two bearded men and one unbearded (the latter semi-nude) : behind the altar are two flute players, and in front is a camillus with the *acerra* : on the right are two *victimarii*, with a bull in front of them : in the background is a wall. *Nel Aventino fu trouati due facciate di*

stanze in parte cadute di 9 figure p(er) ciascheduna. Cf. L. 188. This drawing belongs to another set (*infra*, 44 *sqq.*) 180 × 248.

16 (xv). Bacchic scene : in the centre is a wooden basin, from the water in which issues a serpent : four women to the left (one with a thyrsus, one with a staff) one behind it with a bowl, and four (two with thyrsi, one, further back, with a patera) to the right : near the latter is a female statue on a base, in front of a column with an urn on it : behind this is a tree, from which hangs an oscillum : to the right in the foreground is a bowl on a pedestal, and a wall behind : to the left a figure is seated holding an urn, in front of an obelisk and a tree : behind her is an attendant. 226 × 461.

17 (xvi). Scene of sacrifice (?) : on left in front of a pyramid, three women, one holding a palm (seated) : then four women with a male figure in centre bearing a lamb (?) on his shoulders, a palm in his left hand, and a basket in his right : to right five other women and an altar with a dish of flowers on it : a wall in right background. Date (1721) added in this and the following down to 43 inclusive. 202 × 391.

18 (xvii). To the left a recumbent male bearded figure, by whom a woman kneels, while five others stand behind : he looks towards a youth on extreme left, who is pointing upwards with his right : to right a seated female figure (lower limbs draped) holding a mask : behind her a group of nine other figures, mostly wearing garlands. 197 × 424.

19 (xviii). Bacchic scene : to left a Maenad dancing with cymbals : then two women with lyre and tambourine : then Bacchus with thyrsus : to right a female figure with tambourine (?) approaches an altar : three other figures in background ; tree on extreme right. 171 × 259.

20 (xix). Bacchic dance : youth to left with thyrsus in right and dish in left, then woman with oscillum and a cylindrical object : then woman with tambourine. 147 × 258.

21 (xx). Bacchic scene : to left a youth standing with two empty cornucopiae (?) : then an altar with a club against it : then a girl dancing with cymbals : then another with garland and patera : between them a column and a tree. 155 × 268.

22 (xxi). Statue in centre under arched aedícula : three figures on each side. *Capp.* 285. 13 (*Eng. T.* xviii. 1). 184 × 262.

23 (xxii). Ariadne (?) seated to right of centre unveiling herself, holding cornucopíae in left : two women to left of her, one holding a sprig with flowers, and five more behind her : to extreme left a woman dancing and blowing double flutes. 172 × 307.

24 (xxiii). Bacchic dance : to left a male figure flower-crowned : then two females with *pedum* : then a female with long flute : then a male figure winged with double flutes : then a female with tambourine : then to extreme right a statue of a goddess on a pedestal in front of an aedícula. 180 × 483.

25 (xxiv). Female figure seated to left, a vase of flowers on a base in front of her : below her another reclines, and behind her stand two more : then a statue of a goddess (staff in her right) approached by a female figure from right : then female figure with torch and patera, and another blowing double flutes. 180 × 346.

26 (xxv). Youthful river-god reclining on a rock (facing left) : two female figures approach him : behind him a pyramid and a tree. 188 × 170.

27 (xxvi). Bearded river-god reclining to left holding a cornucopíae in his left : a youth with spear stands behind him : then two women pouring libations on to an altar : then a tree. 169 × 185.

28 (xxvii). In background left of centre two pairs of Doric columns with flat architraves and an arch joining them : under the arch a female draped statue with cornucopíae in her left : in front stands a figure with a staff : then comes a tripod on base, to left of which a woman sits : from right two pairs of women and a youth and a maiden advance towards centre : on left are two women and a youth. 208 × 412.

29 (xxviii). On a high base in background between two trees a youthful Priapic herm holding a disk (?) with both hands over his head : in front a sacrifice : a bowl on an altar with three women about it, one holding a torch : in front a youth sits holding a palm, and a woman kneeling grasps his right arm : to left of her is a vase, and behind it two

women blowing trumpets: then two more, one playing the lyre, the other the double flutes. To extreme right a woman with thyrsus.

194 × 352.

30 (xxxvii). On left in foreground a raised mound with a circular opening in it (a *mundus* ??): behind it stand five women, one holding two torches, another a dish of fruit: then comes a youthful Bacchus (?) with a cup in his right and a *pedum* in his left: then an aedicula: in the left hand portion is a fountain, behind which two women stand: then a seated female draped statue on a projecting base: to right stands a woman with a dish of fruit.

209 × 410.

31 (xxix). A wall and tree background: in centre a column with a globe on it: to right a female figure (Fame?) sits in a high-backed chair, writing on a tablet: to left a female figure advances towards her.

179 × 282.

32 (xxx). In centre under a tree an altar with flowers on it, and an urn by it: to right a female figure (Ariadne?) with her lower limbs draped reclines on a rock with uplifted right hand: to her right stand three female figures, one holding a piece of cloth with elaborate border: to left a camillus with *urceus* and *lituus* (?): then a woman, then a youth with a large disk.

213 × 418.

33 (xxxi). In centre a youthful female (?) figure holds a dish: behind are five other figures, to left three figures (two women), one dancing with cymbals, the other holding a kid: to the right in background is an aedicula with a seated female draped statue: then to right are three female figures, one blowing double flutes, the other holding a dish.

212 × 417.

34 (xxxiii). In centre a Priapus herm under a tree (with fruits in his drapery) behind which are bulrushes: to the right a youthful Bacchus dancing with cymbals: behind him stand two Maenads, one with thyrsus, while three more dance to his right: to the left are five more, standing.

207 × 423.

35 (xxxiv). Two Bacchantes dancing to right: one holds a large cylindrical object: to left under a tree a youth holding a whip, and a woman blowing the double flutes.

205 × 285.

36 (xxxv). To left an altar, behind which stands a woman; with her left hand she touches a tree, round which is twined a serpent: a *pedum* and an *oscillum* hang from it: then come three women, one with cymbals, another with tambourine: to right a youth with amphora and thyrsus, and in right background another, hurrying away.

180 × 301.

37 (xxxvi). To left a male figure with pipes: then a female dancing with basket of flowers in right and flowers held over her head in left: then youth with shield and spear (all these moving to left): to right a female sits on a rock holding a round shield (?) in right: four other female figures stand round her.

179 × 341.

38 (xxxviii). To right a youth and a Maenad (each holding thyrsi) dancing: to left three female figures, one holding pipes.

181 × 253.

39 (xxxix). Sacrifice: to right a column and altar (a cradle (?) on the latter) with three women and a youth standing by: in centre four women, one leading a goat to the left: then a tree in background: then two female figures standing (one with a basket of flowers).

205 × 409.

40 (xxxxiii). Bacchic dance: six figures, one male with a basket covered by a cloth on his head, the other five female figures dancing, one holding a candelabrum: tree in extreme left background.

167 × 296.

41 (xxxxiv). Bacchic dance: to right a male figure with thyrsus going to right: then a youth and three Maenads dancing (one holding a cylinder with bands across it at intervals (cf. Nos. 5, 20, 35): to left a female figure dancing.

167 × 343.

42 (xxxxv). Ariadne seated in centre on a rock: an urn on a pedestal to the right: three female figures to right, one with a long *pedum* and two women and a youth with crooked *pedum* to left.

159 × 234.

43 (xxxxvi). In centre a column with a disk upon it: a female figure in front of it turns to right to a boy who advances with a goat: to right a woman with a patera stands by an altar: behind is a pyramid: to left a woman holds out a dish to a stag which runs towards her.

183 × 264.

44-47. Chocolate ground, sacrificial scenes. Cf. *supra*, 15, and *Mahog.* II, 12.

44 (iii).¹ *No. 3 di 6 figure nel Aventino di un'altra stanza ne la facciata con spartimenti di colonette.* Tripod in centre: to right of it two youths, one with a staff: to left a draped female figure holding a scarf: a basket of flowers on the ground near her: to extreme right a youth and a maiden, the former with a staff: to the left a youth with staff and patera.

175 × 325.

45 (iv). *No. 4 di 6 figure nel Aventino di una stanza, etc.* Similar tripod in centre: a woman stands behind it with double flutes: another comes from right and pours libation: behind is another with a thyrsus: then a man (with a loin-cloth and high boots) holding a basket of flowers: then comes part of another male figure (the painting is broken off here): to the left is a statue of Silvanus with his dog on a high base, and a standing female figure to the left of that again.

162 × 239.

46 (v). *No. 5 di 7 figure, etc.* Woman recumbent on right: three female figures standing behind her: altar in centre: a woman kneels by it, and two others stand behind. *Capp.* 285. 12 (*Eng. T.* xvii. 4).

162 × 239.

Plate XVII.

47 (vi). *Nel Monte Parimente Aventino fu trouata una facciata di stanza (vicino a Sante Prisca) No. 6 di 8 figure.* On left a woman seated lifts a cloth from an urn on an altar: there are six other women to right, and one male draped to the knees holding a palm in his right hand.

188 × 377.

Plate XX.

48 (viii). Bacchic procession left to right. *Vicino all' Arco di Galieno fu ritrovata una Tribuna dipinta col trionfo di Bacco con Asino e otto figure. No. 8* Youthful Bacchus riding on an ass, supported by a youth, moving to right: with him Pan blowing pipes and youth with thyrsus: two other male figures in front, and a male and female behind (the former with pipes): fresco fractured on left.

192 × 277.

49 (ix). *Vicino al Palazzo Maggiore alla villa Farnese fu trovata una Pittura antica di un carro tirato da quattro Cavalli con tre figure. No. 9.* A warrior descends from a quadriga to defend himself with his spear

¹ Nos. i, ii of this set are *Mahog.* II, 12; while 7, *supra*, must be No. vii. of this set.

against a man attacking him from the left, while to the right a servant holds the horses. A tree and a wall in the background: in front a pyramid on a pedestal. 174 × 274.

50 (x). *Altra stanza al Palazzo Maggiore alla Villa Farnese fu ritrovata una pittura antica di 6 figure. No. 10.* Two warriors offering spoils to Victory—a statue on a high pedestal to left, with a smoking altar in front of it: with them are three attendants: a wall and an obelisk on a square base in background. 175 × 264. **Plate XX.**

51 (xi). *A San Stefano rotondo fu trovata una stanza di Pittura antica di 6 figure xi.* Ariadne lies abandoned to left: then a square altar in front of a square pillar: then a youth with a club on his left shoulder advances to greet three others (two with *pedum*): to right sits a female figure with a basket of flowers. 174 × 305.

52 (xiii). *Altra cioe un pastore con Pallade.* Pallas advancing from left with a *vitta* to a shepherd who sits on right: landscape background. *Capp. 285. 19 (Eng. T. xix. 1).* 217 × 178.

53 (xii). *A S. Stefano Rotundo una stanza altra, Prometeo che forma l'uomo, con Pallade xii.* Prometheus seated on the left, holding a small figure of Man: Athena stands to the right holding a butterfly: a wall in background. *Capp. 285. 23 (Eng. T. xix. 5).* 218 × 143.

54 (xiv). *Altra simile di 2 figure.* Two shepherds with Phrygian caps, one seated, one standing: rocky landscape with trees in background. 218 × 163.

55 (xv). A pair to 15, the inscription of which it repeats. Rhea Silvia with twins seated on rocks in centre: Mars stands to right: behind him another helmeted figure: then two unarmed youths, one seated, one standing: to left a bearded man, and beyond him a youth with helmet and shield. A high base in extreme left background. 153 × 284.

ETON VI. (Mahogany Case).

1. Column of Trajan (attributed to Pietro da Cortona in the list of the contents of the box). *Pep and brown wash.* 1130 × 218.

2. Painting of a harbour. *Fran^{co} Bartoli delineavit at bottom of shield with legend. 'The Port of Antium found painted on a wall in* **Plate XXI.**

Titus's Baths—a great curiosity (in the English list). An engraving in Bellori, *Forma Urbis ad init.* agrees generally with our drawing, but is less accurate in details. See Dubois, *Pouzzoles Antique*, p. 202; Carcopino, *Mélanges*, xxx (1901), 424; and *Rev. Arch.* 1913, ii. 253. In *Nett.* 157–169 (*Inv.* 11406–11417) are detailed reproductions of the individual buildings (Hülse in *Röm. Mitt.* xi (1896), 213 sqq.), in which we may notice that most of the windows and spaces between the columns are represented as glazed. There are other differences in details, as a comparison will show. There is much difference of opinion as to the subject represented—the harbour of Rome under the Aventine, that of Claudius at Ostia, or that of Puteoli; but Carcopino confirms the last identification, and makes the island that on which Octavian, Antony, and Sextus Pompeius met to conclude the peace of Misenum in 39 B.C. It is clear that the buildings on the island are not *thermae*, as Carcopino (p. 257) points out. As Hülse shows, the painting must have been found in July, 1668, in the building described *supra*, *Eton*, ii. 2, etc. Perhaps the greatest diversity is in the representation of the building called *Aquae Pensiles*. (For inscriptions cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 36,613). 598 × 1170.

Plate XXII.

3. 'An Ancient Picture found 1724 in the Farnesian Gardens on Mount Palatine.' Large wall with upright scene in centre and oblong scene at each side—all relating to sacrifice at rural shrines. The right-hand scene (with an eagle descending towards the altar) Egger, *Krit. Verz. Wien* i. p. 37, No. 112 (cf. p. 45, Fig. 14). *Turnbull*, 27, after a drawing in Albani Collection (found on the Palatine in September, 1724). 603 × 1073.

4. Scene with disembarkation of Ulysses (?). 'An Ancient Picture found 1724 in the Farnesian Gardens.' *Coleraine* vii. 25 (423 × 725). 750 × 524.

Drawings by Gaetano Piccini in Vienna, 110 (left half only: the right half was broken off by a cross wall, so that the Eton drawing is much reconstructed; reproduced in Haugwitz, *Das Palatin*, p. 108, Fig. 11); Egger, *cit.* p. 37, p. 43, Fig. 13.

Vienna 111 shows the same on a larger scale: it is identical with *Turnbull* 25 (central scene only). 'The Original is now quite gone, tho' it was found not very long ago in the Orti Farnesiani. Palazzo, the Pope's Antiquary, assured me it was in very good condition when it was

discovered, and a drawing of it was then taken, which Cardinal Alexander Albani now hath. It was in Height P. 4, and in Breadth P. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ' (text p. 177). These drawings are not in the Albani Collection at Windsor.

The date of discovery is given by Piccini too as September, 1724. Cf. Ghezzi *Ottob.* 3109, 198.

It is under the Basilica (cf. Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* x (1895), 259), and has recently been found. It belongs to an earlier house, which may be dated to the end of the Republic.

Turnbull 28 (which was taken from the same site) is not identical with any of the Eton drawings. *Vienna* 113 too (which shows the ceiling of this room) is not to be found in *Eton*.

5 (xxxii). Frieze of twenty-two figures. On back to left *Fr. Plate XXIV. Bartoli* . . . to right *Disegno trovato nel Monte Palatino, 1721, No. 32.* A statue is being set up on a pedestal, and offerings are being brought to it. Dionysiac (?). 192 × 720.

6 (xl). Frieze of eighteen figures. On back: *Fr. Bartoli* *Disegno trovato nel Monte Palatino, 1721, No. 40.* Rustic sacrifice: on the right several figures are reclining: the two groups are connected by nymphs. 175 × 791.

7 (xxxxi). Frieze of fourteen figures. 'An Ancient Painting found in Mount Palatine, 1721.' Bacchanalian dance. 187 × 725.

8. (xxxxii) Frieze of sixteen figures. *Fr. Bartoli* *Disegno trovato nel Monte Palatino, 1721, No. 42.* Bacchanalian dance: three female figures on left sacrificing in a walled open shrine, in which is a female draped statue. 192 × 838.

9. Frieze of fourteen figures. 'An Ancient Painting perhaps only an imitation of the Ancient, for there is no mention where found.' Bacchic dance: to left one male figure recumbent: to right a female draped statue on high base with thyrsus in right, and five female figures standing and sitting around: a wall, a high base with a bowl on it, and a tree in background. 207 × 472.

10 (vii). Frieze of fifteen figures. 'An Ancient Painting found under Palazzo Magiore.' On left a group of female figures, two seated on a rock, one kneeling, the rest standing: two others hasten towards them

from the right, and two others stand : to the right again a boy with *pedum*, and a woman with a basket : in right background a pergola of four Doric columns on a high wall from which hang festoons. 207 × 472.

11 (i). *Nel Aventino due fregie di stanze N. 1 di 14 figure.* An altar in the centre : on each side of it a group of three figures facing towards another altar, towards which two men advance : then a pair of columns with a door between them, with *pedum* and *oscillum* tied to the front column : at each side a male and female figure, the male dancing.

163 × 669.

12 (ii). *Nel Aventino due fregie di stanze N. 2 di 16 figure.* Pairs of columns as before, but more to the right : between them five figures performing a sacrifice : on each side three figures advance to an altar (group on right includes two armed men) : to left a column, beyond which two men hold an object covered with a cloth : then a bust on a high pedestal, towards which three figures advance (one female with a lyre) : to extreme left, column with disk upon it.

178 × 672.

13. In centre panel : sacrifice with three male figures. *Una lunetta di volta arcata trouata sul Monte Palatino, 1721.* Cameron, 56 ; no longer existing. Lanciani, 189, wrongly attributes 13 and 14 to the Aventine.

260 × 439.

14. Ceiling, with a panel at each end. *Una volta arcata trovata nel Monte Palatino, 1721.* Cameron, 55. Second room of the 'bagni di Livia,' which has by recent excavations been ascertained to belong to the same building as iv. 100 (attributable to the early Empire—Tiberius or Claudius ?). Ronczewski, *op. cit.* p. 29, fig. 16.

313 × 675.

15. *Una volta trouata nel Monte Palatino, 1721.* Complicated ceiling design, as yet not found. Cameron, 54.

521 square.

16-18. 'A Staircase with its Ornaments, and the Passage to it somewhat ruinous ; found on Mount Palatine, 1721.'

16. One side of a staircase. Apparently it is that behind the Lararium of the Flavian Palace on the Palatine, which is now entirely ruined, and was probably destroyed by the Farnese themselves. Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* x (1895), 265 ; Coleraine vii, 23 : *Laterale destra della sudditta scala Monte Palatino* (both 710 × 394 inside frames, but details differ) ; Ghezzi *Ottob.* 3108, III.

17. The other side of the same staircase. Size as 16. *Coleraine* vii. 22 (*Laterale sinistra*, etc.).

18. *Nel Palatino una scala dipinta le due laterali*. This must be the end of the same staircase. A break in the wall is shown. On the lower level there is a female statue on the right: on the left the base only is shown. Above there is a scene of a female figure and a youth. *Coleraine* vii after 24. 326 × 304.

19. Plan of the *aula* and *lararium* in the Flavian Palace on the Palatine, with the staircase in question. 153 × 211.

ETON VII (Bn. 9). (Cf. Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1894, 182.)

4. *Mosaico antico Palazzo Barberini*, No. 138.¹ Rape of Europa. Mosaic pavement found at Palestrina, outside the city, at the place called L'Arcione, i.e. just below the lowest terrace of the temple and removed to the Palazzo Barberini. *Ciampini Vet. Mon.* I. tav. xxxiii. p. 82; Bartoli, *App.* tav. xii. p. 95; *Turnb.* 8 (original 4 palms 4 oncie by 4 palms 3 oncie). Cf. Jahn, *op. cit. supra*. It is not now visible.

490 × 475.

5. *Nel Museo del cardinale Gualtieri*, G. G. (i.e. Filippo Antonio Gualtieri (d. 1728). Female figure (priestess or attendant) draped, moving to right, holding a jug with a tray upon it, and crowned with a garland of leaves: her drapery is yellow-brown below, and blue above. The type is that of *Eton* iv. 52, but there is no foliage, except two branches on which the figure stands. The museum is mentioned by Deseine, *Rome Moderne* (1713), i. 42. 370 × 248.

6. *Nel museo del cardinale Gualtieri* G. G. Head of Mars.

Plate XXIII.

153 × 147.

7. *Nel museo del cardinale Gualtieri* G. G. Amazon with a *pelta*.

Plate XXIII.

157 × 150.

¹ The numbers refer to an inventory lettered outside *Palazzi di Roma*, with the following title within: *Bassirilievi, Pitture Antiche, Gruppi, Statue, Busti, Vasi, Are, etc., in Diversi Palazzi di Roma*. It forms an index to the great series of drawings of sculpture which Topham not only ordered to be made (cf. Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1894, 165, who however did not see this volume) but is a complete inventory of the contents of the various collections, including the pieces which Topham did not think it worth while to have copied; and it is thus a document of capital importance for the condition of these collections in the early eighteenth century. I hope before long to be able to publish it in its entirety.

8. *Palazzo Barberini*, n. 224. Fresco of Roma, found in 1655 near the Lateran 7, in the Palazzo Barberini with the apocryphal legend:—

VIRTUS . HONOR . IMPERIVM

Nett. 147 (*Inv.* 11390) ; *Franks* ii., f. 85, No. 421 ; *Causseus* II. vi. 18 ; *Turnb.* 1, and Pl. A. (and elsewhere) ; *M.-D.*, 4111. Drawing by Campiglia, as are the three following. Cf. *Michaelis*, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1910, 122 ; *Körte* in *Arch. Zeit.* xliii (1885) Taf. 4, p. 23. 261 × 280.

9. *Palazzo Barberini* n. 223 [called *pittura antica risarcita* in the inventory]. Fresco of Danae (with only the Cupid asleep at the end of the couch, the other two being omitted. *Holk.* i. 5 ; *Turnb.* 2 ; also Pl. B and p. 171¹ ; *M.-D.* 4112 (of doubtful antiquity). 299 × 336.

Plate XXIV. 10. *Pittura antica, palazzo Barberini.* Sleeping Cupid with the three Graces watching him. No longer extant. 225 × 295.

Plate XXIV. 11. *Pittura Antica, palazzo Barberini.* The Fate Atropos seated, *Turnb.* 5 (about two palms in height). Now no longer extant.
Diam. 193.

12. Two females seize a youth, one on each side (Hylas and the nymphs?). Numbered xvi. 200 × 155.

14–18 are coloured in sepia and half-tint. They are details from the loggie of Raphael ; and 15–18 bear the legend *in xystis Vaticanis*.

14. *E ruinis Domus Titi cum aliis ornamentis a Raffaele urbin. in aula Vaticana adumbratis depromptum.* Stucco relief of two female figures, seated, who are weeping. See Hofmann, *Vatikanische Palast*, Pl. 74 (xiii. f.). 137 × 133.

15. A seated female to the left—a tiny fawn to the right. 122 × 139.

16. A recumbent Bacchus with a small figure by him. 122 × 139.

17. An erotic scene. Hofmann, Pl. 70 (xiii^b) (?). 133 × 130.

18. Two ephebi. Hofmann, Pl. 48 (iic) (?). 137 × 130.

¹ Turnbull states that this and the previous No. were, according to the traditions at Rome, found in a subterranean chamber in digging the foundations for the Palazzo Barberini. This is certainly incorrect as regards No. 8.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. VII. No. 2.

THE ANTIQUITIES FROM LANUVIUM IN
THE MUSEUM AT LEEDS AND ELSEWHERE.

By A. M. WOODWARD, M.A.

PART I.—SCULPTURE.

THE excavations carried on during the years 1884-1890 by the late Lord Savile (then Sir Savile Lumley) at Civita Lavinia in Latium, yielded a large number of objects which have never been fully described. In the reports published by the excavator¹ a short account of the work is given, from which it is plain that the two chief sites excavated were the 'Royal Villa' and the Temple of Juno Lavinia. A description and a few illustrations are there published of objects from both these sites, but nothing in the nature of a complete catalogue exists, and the purpose of this paper is merely to supply a first instalment of such a catalogue. I hope to complete the work in one or two subsequent volumes of these *Papers*.

The objects brought by Lord Savile to England were divided between the British Museum and the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and

¹ *Archaeologia*, xlix. pp. 367-381; liii. pp. 147-154.

Literary Society;¹ the former received the pick of the architectural terracottas from the Temple of Juno, together with a few of the best-preserved pieces of sculpture, the latter the remainder of both these classes of objects and all the miscellaneous *Kleinfunde* from both these sites. The present article is confined to a description and brief discussion of those marble sculptures from the Villa which their discoverer regarded as having formed a chariot and equestrian group. The task is by no means easy, as there is no record of the finding-place of many of the fragments, and other clues which might give guidance in similar circumstances are often lacking. For instance, both the marble employed and the quality of the execution vary considerably among the fragments here described, and we have no external evidence of the number and position of the figures comprising the group.

The view that these fragments belong to a group of figures may be put forward with advantage at this point. It rests on two arguments, namely, that from the homogeneous character of most of the fragments in scale and style (in spite of exceptions which will be duly noted), and that from the existence of a rectangular platform, recognised by the excavator as having probably formed the base on which these figures stood. Though the fragments were found scattered over a fairly extensive area, two of them, namely, part of a horse's head (No. 28) and a horse's lower jaw, which fitted to a head found elsewhere on the site (No. 29), were discovered closely adjacent to this platform.² Moreover, this seems to have been the only structure in the Villa which could have supported a large group of figures.

The nature and arrangement of the group are by no means easy to determine. Lord Savile regarded it finally as a chariot-group, consisting of a quadriga, flanked by equestrian figures, and a restored sketch of such a group is exhibited in the Museum at Leeds. It may be stated at once that the group certainly contained horsemen, but that his evidence for the chariot will not stand examination, and when it is rejected no other

¹ I wish cordially to acknowledge the assistance of the authorities, and especially of the Keeper, of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum; and to record my thanks both to the President and Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society for their kind permission to study and publish these sculptures, and to their Curator, Mr. H. Crowther, for his ready assistance throughout my work, and for kindly taking the photographs of the fragments at Leeds which are illustrated in this article.

² *Archaeologia*, xlix. p. 381.

can be found forthcoming. It rests on the misunderstanding of two pieces of sculpture. The first is the draped torso (No. 1), which differs from the others (Nos. 2-6), not only in that it wears a sleeved tunic and cloak without the *lorica* worn by them, but also in the method in which the legs are fitted to the trunk, as may be seen from the illustrations. This was regarded by the finder as having been dowelled on to the front of a chariot so as to represent a seated figure, the legs being intentionally omitted by the sculptor. Even if seated figures were ever placed in chariots in Greek or Roman art, for which I know of no evidence,¹ it is quite inconceivable that a sculptor should have so mutilated his subject in order to attach it to a chariot. Moreover, as will be seen from the description and the photograph, there is nothing to prevent our regarding this as an equestrian figure. The second fragment is figured in the previous publication² and described there as the spoke of a wheel. This it most certainly is not, for not only have we no example of chariot-wheels with spokes of this type,³ but it is easy to see that it belongs to a totally different object. Without doubt it formed part of a floreated marble candelabrum of a common type,⁴ and, moreover, a larger fragment of the same type was found at the same time, though no mention of its discovery is made in the earlier publication. A first glance at these two fragments shows the original form of the shaft of the candelabrum. It is true that they differ in diameter, but as the larger one clearly tapers there is no difficulty in attributing them to the same object.⁵

Since both these indications of the chariot have now been disposed of, there is no reason which I can find which would suggest the presence of a chariot in the group. We have six torsi, all apparently of riders, and

¹ Exceptional vehicles must be distinguished from chariots in this respect. E.g. Poseidon and Amphitrite appear seated in a low car drawn by a Triton in an Augustan relief, cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 35, and Pl. V.

² *Archaeologia*, xlix. Pl. 27, 1.

³ For a chariot-wheel with plain baluster-spokes, not of course floreated, cf. that on the Bosco Reale cup representing the triumph of Tiberius (Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. XXIV. 1).

⁴ For the motive of closed palm-leaves cf. the candelabrum figured in Daremberg and Saglio, s.v., Fig. 1092.

⁵ These will be published and illustrated next year in the second part of this article. The dimensions are: (a) (larger fragment), h. .40 m., circ. at bottom, .38, at ca. .25 above this, .345; (b) h. .18, circ. at bottom .25. Assuming a regular decrease of .035 in .25 m., rather less than one metre separated the bottom of a from that of b, and thus slightly over half a metre is missing from between the fragments. Thus the minimum height of the shaft was .40 + ca. .52 + .18 (=ca. 1.10); it may have been taller still.

remains of not less than seven horses, but not necessarily of more. Their relative positions must remain doubtful, and except for the size and shape of the base on which they are presumed to have stood, we have nothing to guide us as to their general arrangement.¹ Certain indications of the attitudes of some of the horses are given by the angles at which their legs are bent; for instance, of the fore-legs preserved none seem to have rested on the ground. As to the date of the group, on grounds both of style and construction, there seems no reason to regard it as earlier than the second century of our era.² Some other suggestions as to the date and restoration of these figures will be dealt with later,³ as will the structural problem presented by them.

LIST OF FRAGMENTS FROM THE EQUESTRIAN GROUP.⁴

1-23.—*Remains of Riders.*

- 1 (Fig. 1. In the British Museum, *B. M. Sculpt.* iii. No. 1751.) Male torso, wearing sleeved tunic girt with a narrow sash and paludamentum, with a sword-sheath under l. arm. The lower portion of the trunk is left smooth for a height of '20, for the addition of the legs, which were worked separately. The width of this surface shows that the legs were parted, *i.e.*, that this was an equestrian figure. H. '67; diameter of cutting for insertion of head, '18. Italian marble.⁵
- 2 (Fig. 1. *Ibid. Op. cit.* iii. No. 1750). Male torso, wearing plain *lorica*⁶ and paludamentum, and a sash with tasselled ends which is tied in front in a knot with the ends arranged symmetrically. The arms (missing) were slightly advanced. Projection near r. hip, where r. hand rested. H. '67; diameter of cutting for neck, '17.

¹ *Archaeologia*, xlix. p. 379, 'a parallelogram of massive construction. . . . The walls running in the direction of north and south are nearly twelve metres long, the cross walls about six metres.'

² See below, pp. 90 f.

³ Below, pp. 86 f.

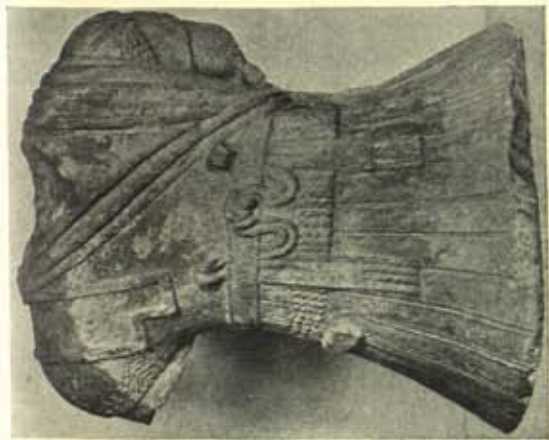
⁴ Where it is not stated to the contrary these are in the Museum at Leeds. All the pieces except the six torsi and the four large fragments of horses are reproduced on a scale of one-sixth.

⁵ Nearly all the fragments here described are of a fine-grained white marble, which varies between almost pure white and a brownish shade according to circumstances. Mr. A. J. B. Wace confirms my opinion that this is an Italian, not a Greek, marble.

⁶ For the type of *lorica* see below, p. 89.



1. (British Museum)



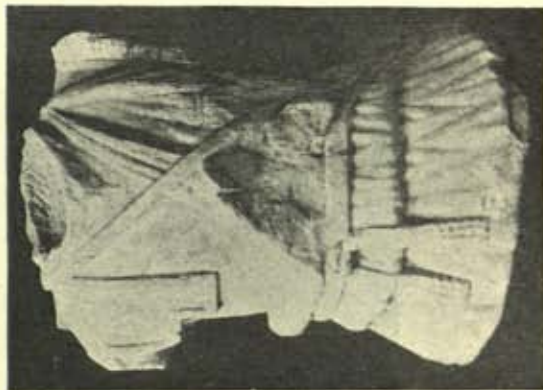
2. (British Museum)



3. (Leeds)



4. (Leeds)



5. (Leeds)



6. (Leeds)

FIG. 1.—BODIES OF RIDERS FROM EQUESTRIAN GROUP AT LANUVIUM. [Scale 1:10.]

- 3 (Fig. 1). Similar, but has portion of neck preserved, with muscles strongly rendered, and dressed flat above. In this surface is a square dowel-hole for affixing the head, $\cdot 04 \times \cdot 04$, and $\cdot 08$ in depth. Wears a narrow sword-belt, and a broad sash with tasselled ends,¹ tied in front in a knot. R. arm broken off at shoulder, and r. shoulder-piece of *lorica* missing. L. shoulder-piece preserved showing that l. upper arm was not raised. Work of paludamentum is more vigorous than that of the other cuirassed torsi. H. $\cdot 62$.
- 4 (Fig. 1). Similar, but with round cutting for neck. Wears a lighter cloak, over which is worn the sword-belt, and a plain girdle (*cingulum*) passing under the sword-sheath but over the sword-belt. Apoptygma of cloak projects over girdle on r. Arms missing. H. $\cdot 61$; diameter of cutting for neck, $\cdot 21$.

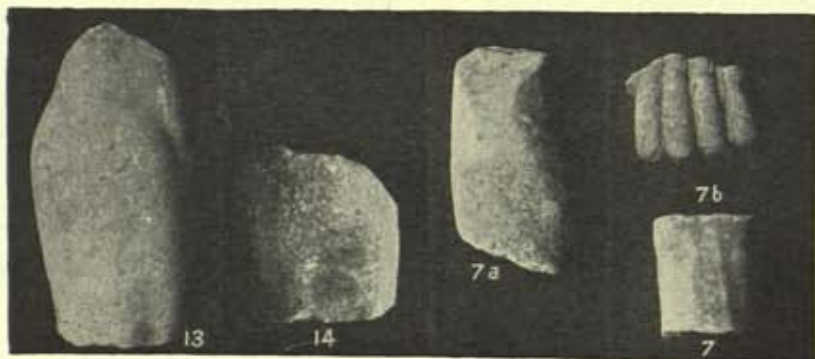


FIG. 2.—FRAGMENTS OF RIDERS.

- 5 (Fig. 1). Similar, with sword-belt and narrower girdle over cloak, the latter with tasselled ends tied in front in a knot. The outer fold of the cloak is turned up and passed under the girdle. A fragment of the cloak, and the sword-hilt are missing. Arms broken off short. H. $\cdot 63$; diameter of cutting for neck, $\cdot 165$.
- 6 (Fig. 1). Similar, but with heavier cloak worn over girdle and sword, and falling more in front of the body than in No. 3. Part of l. upper arm is preserved, indicating a downward direction. Broken through horizontally, and lacking a large fragment at the back. H. $\cdot 60$; diameter of cutting for neck, $\cdot 165$.

¹ See below, p. 88, for discussion of details of the costume.

7 (Fig. 2). Fragment of a man's r. wrist.¹ H. '09; *minimum* circumference, '215.

7a (Fig. 2). Fragment of a right arm, much weathered. H. '20; *maximum* circ. '315.

7b (Fig. 2). Clasped r. hand, with the thumb broken off. Length of middle finger, '155. Two small dowel-holes, one under knuckle of little finger '027 deep, '013 in diameter; the other in crook of the ball of the thumb, '05 deep, same diameter. Perhaps held two small objects not quite in one straight line.

These last two fragments may not belong to the group, though their scale and material do not prevent their doing so.

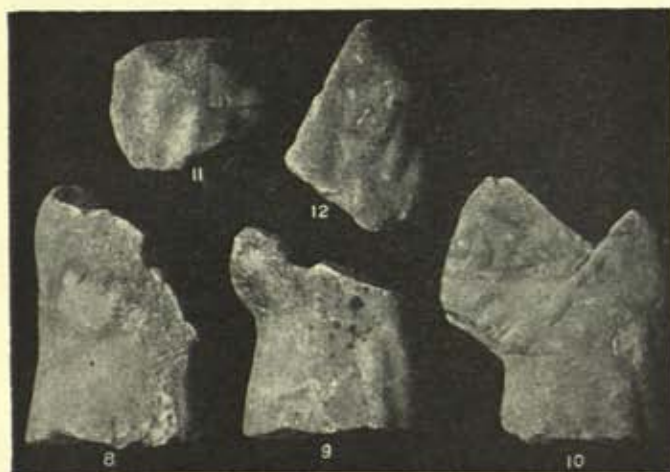


FIG. 3.—FRAGMENTS OF RIDERS.

8 (Fig. 3). Fragment of r. knee and upper part of calf. Inner surface roughly flattened, with a larger dowel-hole in centre of joint to secure it to saddle. H. '185; circ. below joint, '34; of calf, '39. Dowel-hole, '022 in diam., '065 deep.

9 (Fig. 3). Similar, but lacks knee-cap. H. '16; circ. below joint, '33. Dowel-hole, diam. as No. 8, '08 deep.

¹ Entered in the inventory of the Museum among fragments of horses' legs.

- 10 (Fig. 3). Similar, with knee-cap and part of leg above joint.¹ Two large cuttings, roughly square in section, one on inner surface holding knee to saddle, '033 square, '046 deep; the other, attaching it to upper portion of thigh, '033 square, '066 deep. H. '18; length from upper edge to front of knee-cap, '166; circ. below joint, '332.
- 11 (Fig. 3). Small fragment, apparently from muscles above r. knee-joint, with upper surface smoothed as in No. 10. H. '085; l. '12. Rectangular cutting inside, '07 x '022.

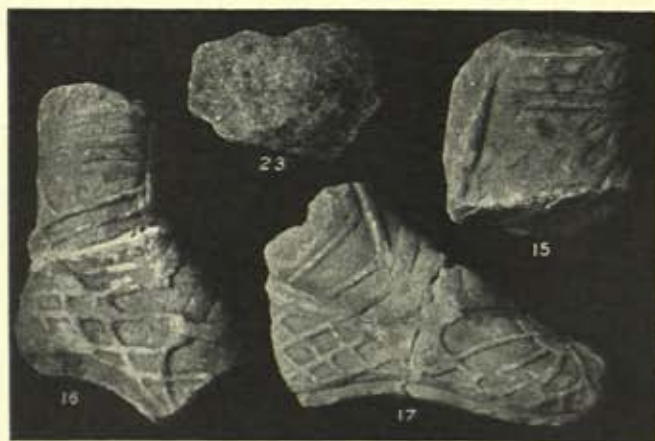


FIG. 4.—FRAGMENTS OF RIDERS.

- 12 (Fig. 3). Fragment of similar style, apparently from above l. knee. Split through vertically; upper surface worked as in Nos. 10 and 11. Remains of two cuttings, as in No. 10, of similar dimensions as far as can be ascertained. H. '11; l. '145.
- 13 (Fig. 2). Fragment of l. calf (in marble and finish closely resembling Nos. 8-10) broken above and below. Traces of the muscle below the knee-cap visible above, and the top of the boot below. H. '25; circ. below knee, '345; *do.* of calf, '40. Small dowel-hole below, '012 in diameter, indicating that the boot was made of a separate piece of marble.

¹ Found in two pieces separately inventoried, and joined by me. The edge of this fragment is dressed smooth where it joined the upper part of the thigh.

- 14 (Fig. 2). Fragment of upper portion of l. calf, badly weathered. Smooth cutting in upper surface, on inside, '09 long, '03 deep. No traces of dowel-holes. H. '14; circ. '408.
- 15 (Fig. 4). Fragment of (r.?) shin, with upper part of high boot formed of interlaced leather thongs,¹ and secured above with four horizontal bands; the topmost of these is tied in a knot. At the back is a projecting tenon diminishing in width from the top downwards, which indicates that the wearer's leg was pressed against his horse's flank, as, e.g., the r. leg of the bronze statuette of 'Alexander' at Naples.² H. '15; br. from back to front, '13; max. projection of tenon, '03.
- 16 (Fig. 4). R. foot, ankle, and lower part of shin, wearing a boot of similar type to No. 15. Front part of foot missing, and a piece from the back of the heel. Broken through above ankle.³ Worked smooth above and attached by a dowel to rest of leg. H. '20; length of sole preserved, '095. Dowel-hole above, '075 deep, '016 in diam.
- 17 (Fig. 4). R. foot and ankle wearing similar boot. Fractured above ankle, toes worn away, and broken through instep;³ the latter an old fracture repaired with a dowel in antiquity. Above is the bottom of a dowel-hole, as in No. 16, '018 in diam. H. '158; l. of sole, '22; length of dowel in old join, '105, diam. '011.
- 18 (Fig. 5). Left foot and ankle; toes missing, and a piece of inside of instep '15 long has split off. There is a vertical cut, '095 high, made with a saw down outside of ankle, which may be ancient; traces of dowel-hole above, ca. '02 in diam. H. '17; l. of sole '215.

¹ For this type of boot cf. the 'Alexander' statuette, referred to in the next note. It seems to be that called *caliga*; for other examples cf. D. and S. s.v., Fig. 1033, from the column of Trajan, and the standing figure of Marcus Aurelius in the British Museum, *B.M. Sculpture*, iii. 1906. It is clearly of Greek origin, and differs in no way from those worn by two figures in the group of Daochus at Delphi, namely Sisyphus II. and Acnonius, *Fouilles de Delphes*, Pl. LXV., LXVI., cf. *A.J.A.* xiii. (1909), p. 450, Fig. 3. A lower shoe of the same type is worn also by the seated figure (Pluto?) on the Hermes column from Ephesus in the British Museum, and the seated Asklepios on a relief from Epidaurus (see Lethaby, *J.H.S.* xxxiii. (1913), p. 93 and Fig. 4). Thus it is at least as old as the 4th century B.C.

² Brunn, *Denkmäler der Gr. und Röm. Sculptur*, No. 355 b.

³ Found in two pieces and mended by me.

- 19 (Fig. 5). L. foot and part of ankle, with toes complete, broken through ankle; at the base of the little toe a small surface $\cdot 10$ long and $\cdot 045$ high is dressed smooth, perhaps where it touched the statue adjoining it on the left. H. $\cdot 13$; l. of sole $\cdot 25$.
- 20 (Fig. 5). L. foot and ankle, with forepart of foot missing, and a piece lost from the front of the ankle. Dressed smooth above, like No. 16, with dowel-hole in centre $\cdot 06$ deep, $\cdot 012$ in diam. H. $\cdot 18$; l. of sole preserved $\cdot 09$.
- 21 (Fig. 5). Fragment of l. ankle and heel, split through vertically; broken above and below. Traces of dowel-hole above, not quite round, *ca.* $\cdot 018$ in diam. H. $\cdot 11$; l. $\cdot 12$.

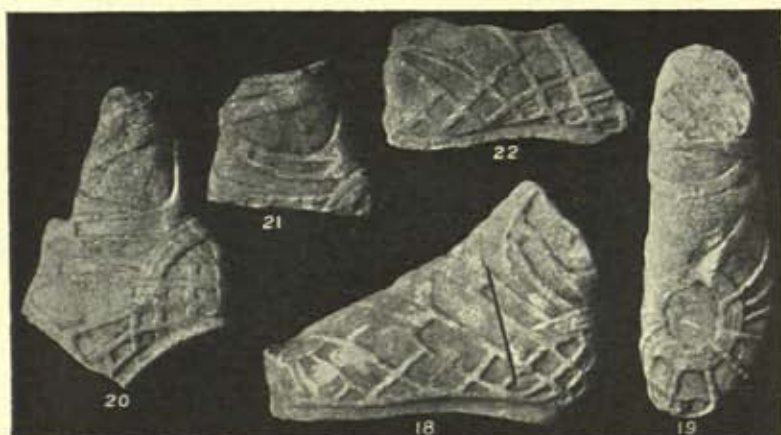


FIG. 5.—FRAGMENTS OF RIDERS.

- 22 (Fig. 5). Fragment of l. foot; forepart, ankle, and a piece of inner surface broken away. Lower part of heel is dressed smooth, and joins sole at an angle of *ca.* 30° . Slightly broader than the other feet, but similar in surface and grain of marble to No. 21; though they do not join they may well come from the same foot. H. $\cdot 09$; l. of sole $\cdot 15$.
- 23 (Fig. 4). Small fragment, perhaps from a foot; on one edge are traces of working which may be one of the thongs of a boot (just visible on lower edge of illustration). L. $\cdot 13$; th. *ca.* $\cdot 02$.

HORSES.

24-32.—*Heads, etc.*

- 24 (Fig. 6). In the British Museum. *B. M. Sculpt.* iii. No. 1749 (1). Head and fore-hand complete, except for r. leg, a small portion of r. shoulder, and all except *ca.* 20 of l. leg. Smooth



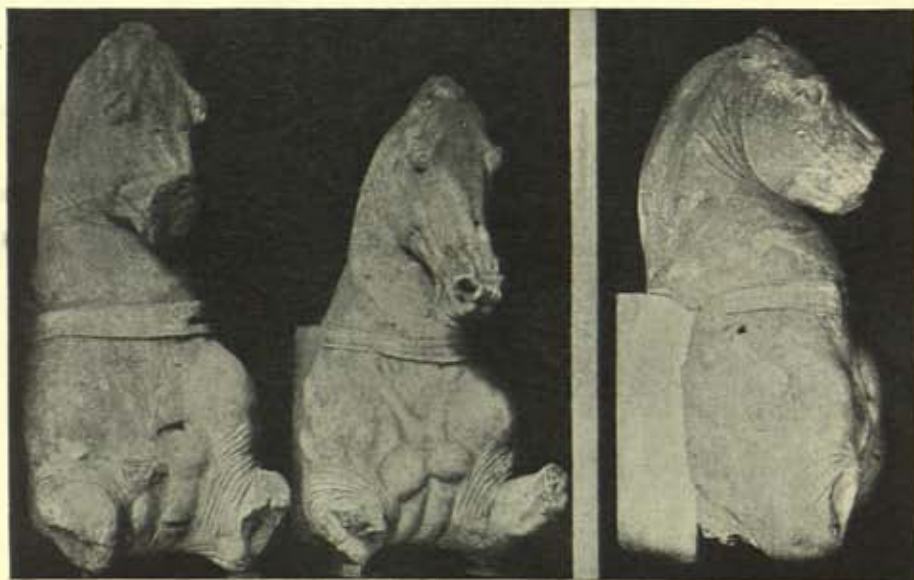
24. [*Scale 1 : 11*].

FIG. 6.—FRAGMENT OF HORSE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

surface behind, with a rectangular sinking. Both fore-legs were extended, the l. being raised and advanced more than the r., the missing portions being fixed with dowels, for which the holes are visible at the points of breakage. Dowel-holes 0.12 in diam. to hold

the bridle, which was added in metal here as on all the heads preserved.

- 25 (Fig. 7). Similar, but head lacks muzzle and ears; r. half of chest and r. shoulder missing, and restored in plaster; l. leg, broken off at shoulder, was dowelled on separately. Two cuttings for large clamps, one in middle of chest, the other between fore-legs show that the chest was made of two pieces of marble. Similar clamp-hole in breast-collar to l. of centre. L. leg was raised and advanced more than r.



25.

26.

27.

[Scale 1 : 16].

FIG 7.—FRAGMENTS OF HORSES AT LEEDS.

- 26 (Fig. 7). Head and portion of neck only. Ears and muzzle missing, the latter restored in plaster from No. 24, as is the whole of the fore-hand. Neck is worked smooth below and fitted on to collar.
- 27 (Fig. 7). Head and fore-hand, lacking muzzle, l. ear, most of r. ear, and legs. Portion of collar broken away in front, and small surface-repairs in plaster. L. leg, raised and advanced, was dowelled

on separately. Smooth surface behind, and a large hole on r. just below collar, for clamp to fix fore-hand to barrel. Vertical dowel-hole sunk downwards in inner surface of l. shoulder, purpose of which is obscure. Rather heavier and coarser work than Nos. 24-26, but similar marble. Folds of skin of chest indicated on r., below breast-collar, with four parallel diagonal lines, as well as those above shoulders.

- 28 (Fig. 8). Fragment of head, in similar marble, much damaged; lower jaw and back of head missing, and piece from l. cheek. Worked smooth above and fitted to upper part of head with a dowel, the hole for which is .08 deep, .024 in diam. Dowel-hole for bridle in front



FIG. 8.—FRAGMENTS OF HORSES' HEADS.

of head, .18 above nostrils. Bony structure is more faithfully indicated than in the other heads, and type is more 'Roman-nosed,' but it need not on this account be rejected from the group. Length from back to edge of upper lip, .255; thickness .13.

- 29 (Fig. 8). Muzzle, of whiter marble with coarser crystallization than Nos. 24-28, broken off. Veins above nostrils carefully indicated. Tongue and lower jaw found broken through, and repaired.¹

¹ As mentioned by Lord Savile, *op. cit.* xlix. p. 381; these two fragments were found at different portions of the site.

Two dowel-holes, for bit, in base of tongue, and three for bridle; that in r. cheek is at the point of fracture. Length, from break to edge of upper lip, '26; circumference, above jaw, '48; diam. of dowel-holes '012.

- 30 (Fig. 8). Fragment of similar marble, forming part of l. cheek, with eye and base of l. ear. Traces of dowel-hole, '037 deep, in lower fractured edge, on l. of head, seem to show that this cannot be from the same head as No. 29; moreover, the grain of the marble runs in a different direction.¹ H. of worked surface '15; br. '14.
- 31 (Fig. 8). R. ear, in similar marble. H. '10; diam. at base '07. May belong to the preceding or to No. 29; does not fit any of Nos. 24-27.

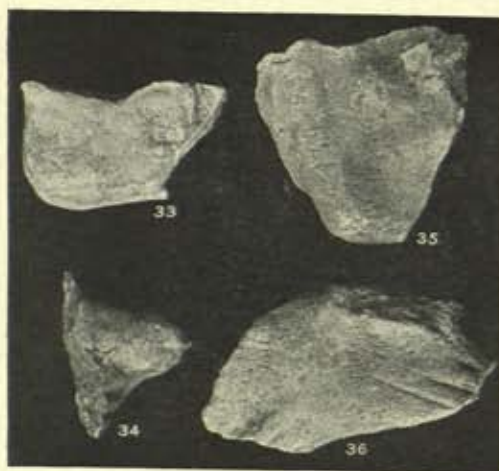


FIG. 9.—FRAGMENTS OF HORSES' SHOULDERS.

- 32 (Fig. 8). Lower jaw, in brownish marble (resembling Nos. 24-28). L. '12; h. '083; br. '092. Hole for fixing bit in base of tongue, as in No. 29. Does not join nor belong to No. 28, but might join No. 26, or belong to either No. 25 or 27.

¹ It seems unlikely that the muzzle No. 29 could have been made in a separate piece, for there is no trace of a dowel to hold it to the upper part of the head, as in No. 28; moreover the presence of a hole for the bridle in the left cheek of both fragments proves that they belong to separate heads. The difference in marble and workmanship precludes No. 30 from being combined with No. 28. Thus we must admit the existence of seven horses' heads, as was recognised by the discoverer, *op. cit.* liii. p. 150.

33-48.—*Shoulders and Fore-legs.*

- 33 (Fig. 9). Fragment from a horse's l. shoulder.¹ Dowel-hole for attachment of leg, which was clearly raised and extended. H. '092; br. '155; th. '122; dowel-hole '046 deep, '018 in diam. Fine-grained whitish marble.
- 34 (Fig. 9). Fragment from front part of l. shoulder, in similar marble to the preceding; split through vertically, with a roughly horizontal breakage above. H. '113; br. '113; th. '055.



FIG. 10.—KNEES OF HORSES.

- 35 (Fig. 9). Fragment from r. shoulder, bent slightly less than the two preceding. Has been backed with plaster and fitted experimentally to No. 25, but since removed. H. '165; br. '17; th. ca. '08. Coarser-grained marble of more brownish tinge.
- 36 (Fig. 9). Fragment much damaged, from l. shoulder, the cap of the joint being broken away. Two dowel-holes on inner surface for attaching fore-leg, with traces of the iron pin in each, intersecting each other at an acute angle. This seems to indicate that this portion

¹ Found in two pieces and mended by me.

had been broken off and rejoined in antiquity. H. '148; br. '13; th. '244. Dowels '017 and '015 in diam. Marble resembles No. 35, and they may well have come from the same horse.

- 37 (Fig. 10). R. knee-joint in fine-grained white marble, bent, but not so much as to form a right-angle; dowel-holes above and below, but no worked surface at either breakage; depth of that above, '073, diam. '012; below, depth '028, diam. '022 H. '255; circ. of joint '31.
- 38 (Fig. 10). Fragment of (l.?) knee-joint; split through vertically. H. '16; scale about = No. 40, *q.v.* Marble of browner tinge, slightly coarser in grain.

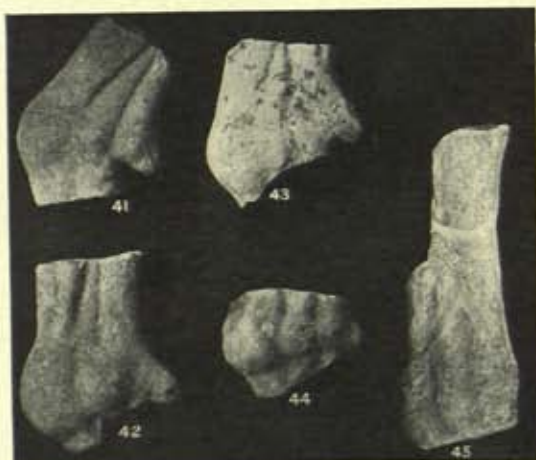


FIG. 11.—FRAGMENTS OF FETLOCKS.

- 39 (Fig. 10). R. (?) knee-joint of whitish marble, surface much weathered and discoloured. Two dowel-holes above, both '016 in diam., '061 and '026 deep, indicating breakage and repair in antiquity; one below, also '016 in diam. H. '165; circ. at joint '32.
- 40 (Fig. 10). L. knee-joint of brownish marble, bent at right angles. Rather coarser and heavier in style than No. 36; vein rendered prominently. Dowel-hole above, '022 in diam., '039 deep; below, '014 in diam., '014 deep. H. '24; circ. at joint '33.
- 41 (Fig. 11). R. (?) fetlock-joint of whitish marble, broken through above hoof. H. '16; max. circ. '31.

- 42 (Fig. 11). Similar, on slightly larger scale; brownish marble resembling that of No. 40. Dowel-hole above, $\cdot 013$ in diam., $\cdot 067$ deep. H. $\cdot 158$; *max. circ.* $\cdot 34$.
- 43 (Fig. 11). Similar, of white marble resembling that of No. 37. H. $\cdot 135$; *max. circ.* $\cdot 335$.
- 44 (Fig. 11). Smaller fragment, from l. fetlock-joint, broken back and front; appearance of marble resembles that of No. 42. H. $\cdot 096$; *circ.* $\cdot 30$ (more when complete).



FIG. 12.—FETLOCKS AND HOOVES.

- 45 (Fig. 11). Two fragments of whitish marble,¹ forming most of a fore-leg from fetlock up to knee; the upper portion is much damaged, the front portion being broken away, and the surface is badly weathered all over. At the point of breakage is a dowel-hole,² $\cdot 021$ in diam., with a total depth of *ca.* $\cdot 10$; another of same diam. below, $\cdot 057$ deep. H. $\cdot 26$; *max. circ.* of fetlock $\cdot 30$.
- 46 (Fig. 12). R. hoof and fetlock of whitish marble; hind portion of fetlock broken away. H. $\cdot 286$; *circ.* of fetlock $\cdot 31$; length of hoof $\cdot 144$.

¹ Joined by me; the mending has not quite brought the hind surface of the two pieces into a straight line. These perhaps belong to the same leg as No. 39.

² Probably indicating an ancient breakage.

47. (Fig. 12). (Photograph from cast: original in British Museum, *B. M. Sculpt.* iii. No. 1749 (3)). Similar, but details more carefully finished off. H. '32; circ. of fetlock '345; length of hoof '142.
48. (Fig. 12). L. hoof and fetlock; rather poorer work, with large surface flaws on inner face. H. '29; circ. of fetlock '30; length of hoof '137.

49-61.—*Hind-legs and Hooves.*

49. (Fig. 16). Large fragment of white marble, roughly oval in section; the lower surface (shown in the photograph) is roughly dressed, and

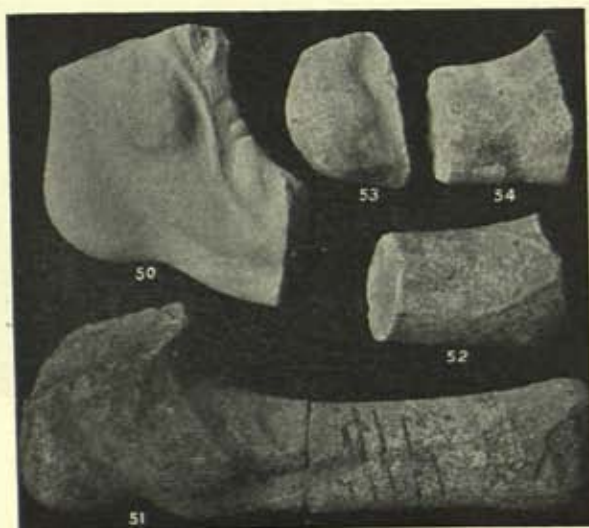


FIG. 13.—FRAGMENTS OF HIND-LEGS.

has a large cutting for a tenon in the centre, '041 deep, \times '055 \times '036. Part of the upper surface is dressed smooth, the remainder shows a horizontal fracture, indicating that a projecting portion is broken away. The edges are dressed smooth. Apparently a horizontal section through a horse's l. (?) hind-leg, close to the body. Upper surface measures: l. '40; br. '19; lower *do.*, l. '25; br. '135; th. '105.

50. (Fig. 13). (Photograph from cast: original in British Museum, *B. M. Sculpt.* iii. No. 1749 (2)). R. (?) hock of brownish marble,

slightly bent. Extreme length, over cap of hock, '30; circ. at joint '42; *min. do.* below joint, '285.

51. (Fig. 13). R. hind-leg, from above hock nearly down to fetlock, of greyish marble with white veins, bent nearly to a right angle. Five parallel transverse scorings on lower portion; veins carefully rendered. Broken through and now mended. Extreme l., over cap of hock, '585; circ. at joint '43; *min. do.* '23.
52. (Fig. 13). Fragment of l. leg, below hock, in similar marble and style. L. '15.
53. (Fig. 13). Cap of l. (?) hock, of brownish marble, resembling that of No. 50; originally bent at about the same angle as No. 51. H. '125; br. '054; th. '081.
54. (Fig. 13). Fragment from below hock, of similar marble, probably from same leg as No. 53;¹ veins and muscles carefully rendered. H. '12; *max. circ.* '29; *min. do.* '23.
55. (Fig. 14). Fragment of r. (?) leg from hock downwards. H. '26; *min. circ.* '30. Coarse, heavy work, the veins not indicated.
56. (Fig. 14). Fragment of similar style. Upper surface roughly dressed for joint with the upper portion of the leg, which was bent to about a right-angle. H. '31; *min. circ.* '273; worked upper surface measures '13 from back to front, by '09; in it is a dowel-hole '02 in diam., '063 deep.
57. (Fig. 14). Small fragment of similar style, broken off clean above and below. H. '085; circ. '315.
58. (Fig. 14). Small fragment, much weathered, apparently from a hind-leg just above fetlock. H. '105; circ. '245 (more when complete); dowel-hole below, '11 in diam.
59. (Fig. 14). Lower portion of l. hind-leg and part of fetlock; style resembles that of Nos. 55-57. Remains of dowel-holes above and below, diam. of former '018, of latter '021 and '021 deep (its

¹ Probably Nos. 53 and 54 formed the l. hind-leg of the horse of which No. 50 is the r.

direction shows that the leg was not very much bent). H. '235; *min.* circ. '28.

60. (Fig. 14). Hind hoof and fetlock; the upper surface is roughly dressed, showing that the leg with the front part of fetlock and hoof was made in a separate piece, rough work. H. '254; length of hoof below, '115 (more when complete).



FIG. 14.—FRAGMENTS OF HIND-LEGS.

61. (Fig. 14). Fragment of l. hind-hoof, partly dressed smooth below, and split through vertically from back to front; more careful finish and larger scale than No. 60. H. '18; l. below, '178.

62-72.—*Fragments of Bodies of Horses.*

62. (Fig. 15). (In the British Museum. *B. M. Sculpt.* iii. No. 1749 (4)). Fragment of flank, with saddle-cloth and girth. Dressed surface on l. where it was fixed to fore-hand; other edges broken, but inner surface is hollowed and rough-dressed, to leave room for the central frame-work (cf. No. 24). Traces of cutting on upper surface to receive body of rider. H. '26; br. '37; th. '16; br. of girth '06-'065.



FIG. 15.—FRAGMENTS OF HORSES' BODIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

63. (Fig. 15). (In the British Museum. *B. M. Sculpt.* iii. No. 1749 (5)). Fragment apparently from near fore-shoulder, with remains of saddle-cloth. Muscles rendered prominently. Broken on all sides, but dressed smooth behind.¹ H. '45; br. 36; th. '12.
64. (Fig. 16). Fragment resembling No. 62 in style, apparently with front portion of saddle-cloth. Roughly dressed on r., where it was

¹ The flat plane in which this fragment is worked, its thinness, and its smooth back suggest that it might be rather from a relief than a figure in the round; but the treatment of the muscles resembles so closely that of the other horses that it seems safer to connect it with the group, as did Lord Savile and Mr. A. H. Smith in *B. M. Sculpture*, vol. iii.

fixed to forehead with rectangular clamps ($\cdot 015$ broad), for which two cuttings are visible, at the upper and lower corners of the saddle-cloth. Inner surface dressed smooth. H. $\cdot 345$; br. $\cdot 116$; th. $\cdot 106$.

65. (Fig. 16). Fragment of similar marble, with girth; broken at each end, and dressed smooth on both inner surfaces, which meet at right angles. H. $\cdot 135$; br. $\cdot 17$; th. $\cdot 08$; br. of girth $\cdot 06$ – $\cdot 065$.
66. (Fig. 17). Fragment of whitish marble, triangular in section, from under the belly; broken at both ends, outer surface rough-tooled, but Y-shaped vein clearly shown; of the inner surfaces the narrower is dressed smooth, the other fractured. H. $\cdot 11$; br. $\cdot 30$; th. $\cdot 085$.

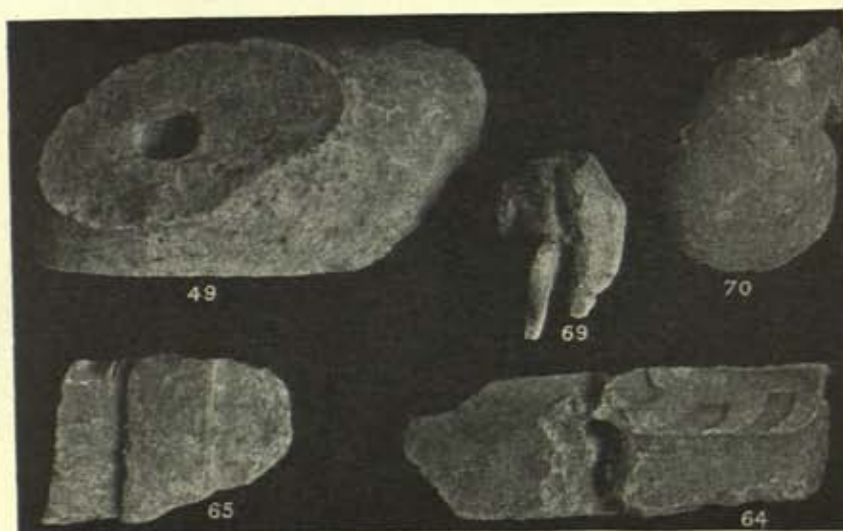


FIG. 16.—FRAGMENTS OF HORSES' BODIES.

67. (Fig. 17). Fragment of white marble from rump and scrotum, with r. testicle; under portion rough-tooled, visible surfaces carefully finished; smooth faces above and on l. and r., small portion broken away on r. H. $\cdot 115$; br. $\cdot 345$; th. $\cdot 145$.
68. (Fig. 17). Similar fragment of brownish marble, with l. testicle; rougher work than No. 67; broken at one end; inner surfaces smooth. H. $\cdot 11$; br. $\cdot 20$; th. $\cdot 155$.

69. (Fig. 16). Small fragment, apparently from scrotum; brownish marble, roughly finished, and broken above.¹ H. .065; br. .13; th. .10.
70. (Fig. 16). Fragment of whitish marble, with one side flat and rough tooled, the rest of the surface being curved; broken at its thicker (upper?) end; deep cutting for clamp on r. side. Position uncertain, but possibly from rump. H. .112; br. .185; th. .15; cutting for clamp is .027 wide, .021 deep, increasing at inner end to .04.

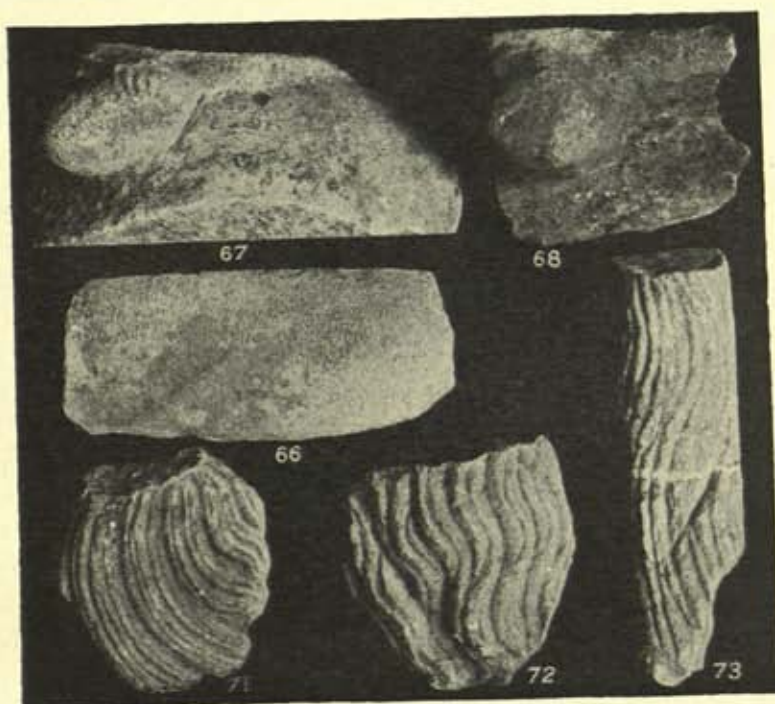


FIG. 17.—FRAGMENTS OF BODIES AND TAILS.

71. (Fig. 17). Fragment of tail, curving to r.; traces of a vertical dowel-hole above, .016 in diam.; the first three locks of hair from the r. are complete, the rest broken below and at back. H. .172; br. .168; th. .10.

¹ The attribution of this fragment to the group is, to say the least, doubtful.

72. (Fig. 17). Fragment of lower portion of a thick tail; broken above, worked smooth at back, and small fragments missing from each side; dowel-hole running horizontally from back to front in upper fracture, l. .043, circ. .022, for attaching it at this point to hindquarters. H. .18; br. .18; th. .088.
73. (Fig. 17). Large fragment of a long narrow tail, broken across.¹ Roughly hollowed at back, and worked smooth below, where it is partly broken away by a large vertical dowel-hole; this is intersected .032 from the bottom by a smaller hole (presumably for running in lead to fix it to the base).² H. .32; br. .09; th. .055; larger dowel-hole .08 deep, .022 in diam.; smaller *do.* .012 in diam.

EVIDENCE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GROUP.

It will have been seen that there is not sufficient material to permit of an exact restoration of any one of the figures which comprised the group, but before proceeding to put together such evidence as the fragments furnish of the positions of the figures it may be well to allude to some earlier suggestions with regard to these sculptures. Besides the hypothesis, which has been shown to be groundless, regarding the existence of a chariot, the discoverer further states: (1) that one of the horses' heads and necks is of Parian marble,³ which is taken as evidence that the group (*sic*) is of Greek workmanship. This is contrary to fact, and as most of the fragments are certainly, and all probably, of Italian marble, a Greek origin for the group is at once rendered impossible. (2) That the style of the torsi shows them to be the work of a period subsequent to that of the horses.⁴ This does not imply that the figures of the riders do not belong to these horses, but that they were added later. We should have to suppose that they replaced earlier figures of riders, for the remains of the saddle-cloths and girths on four of the fragments show that the horses were saddled when first made.⁵ This is not in itself impossible, but an

¹ Found in two pieces and now mended.

² For other instances of horses' tails in ancient marble sculpture reaching to the base on which they stand cf. the equestrian statue of M. Nonius Balbus from Herculaneum at Naples, and the horses on Monte Cavallo at Rome, Furtwängler and Ulrichs, *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Eng. Trans. 1914), pp. 44 f., Figs. 13, 14.

³ *Op. cit.* xlix. p. 374.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 375.

⁵ Fragments 62-64 leave no doubt on this point.

examination of the fragments of the horses does not give the impression that they are of earlier date than those of the riders. A further suggestion is made in the catalogue of the British Museum Sculpture,¹ where the fragments in the Museum from this group are discussed briefly, that the torsi stood in niches as did, for instance, those over the Porta Marzia at Perugia.² This would leave us with no bodies for the riders of our horses, and in any case disregards the existence of the fragments of the knees and feet of the horsemen whom it is natural to put on them.

The positive *data* for a reconstruction of the group are the following: there are six torsi of riders and remains of seven horses,³ of which most, if not all, were in prancing attitudes, with both fore-legs raised from the ground. The remains of their shoulders prove this in the case of Nos. 24 and 27, where both are preserved, and 25 which has the l. shoulder only. Further there are four fragments of shoulders (Nos. 33-36), No. 35 being r., the rest l. As 35 and 36 are almost certainly from the same horse we may attribute them to any one of the seven horses except Nos. 24, 25, and 27. If we assign them to No. 26, we are left with two l. shoulders for a fifth and sixth horse, both of which indicate raised fore-legs. We get the same result by assigning a l. shoulder only to No. 26, for then we have the pair (35 and 36) for either the fifth or the sixth horse. Thus we find that the evidence of the shoulders proves that at any rate six horses had the fore-legs raised, and the evidence from the knees and hooves in no way goes against this, though it is not so complete; and, moreover, the angle to which the surviving fragments of the hind-legs are bent further bears it out. As seems to have been on the whole the more usual convention in the representation of prancing horses,⁴ the left fore-leg is raised slightly more than the right, and the l. shoulder is more advanced. This may be seen at a glance, in the chest-muscles of the horses (24, 25, 27). Moreover, the sculptor or sculptors aimed at achieving slight variety in points of detail. Thus some of the

¹ *B.M. Sculpt.* iii. pp. 103 f.

² Cf. *Röm. Mitt.* xii. (1897), p. 179.

³ It is just possible that No. 28 should be rejected from the group; but there is no reason for limiting the number to six, as one (or more) of the riders' figures may have completely disappeared.

⁴ On Roman reliefs and coins they are more frequently represented as going to r.; the shoulder further from the spectator is usually more raised and advanced. Greek art allowed more variety on such a point (*e.g.*, contrast the legs of the horses on Syracusan Dekadrachms by Kimon and Euainetos.)

knees are bent more than others, the angle of the horses' heads is varied, and the treatment of the tails differs. Still more striking is the difference in the style of the hind-legs. Nos. 51 and 52 form a pair, and differ from the rest in being of greyish marble with white veins, not unlike Hymettian, and of more slender and sinewy type. Nos. 50 and 53 and 54 also formed a pair, I believe, on the evidence both of the marble, which is whitish (weathered now to a pale brown) with white veins, and of the execution. The remaining fragments Nos. 55, 56, 57, 59 form three, if not four, different hind-legs; they are of a finer-grained marble and coarser execution, and it is hard to believe that they were in a conspicuous position, as anatomically their treatment is poor and heavy. It is possible that they were to some extent concealed by some of the other figures of the group.

The variety in the treatment of the riders is achieved by the difference of their costumes. Not only does one wear civil and the rest military dress, but the treatment of the paludamentum and sword-belt is in no two cases exactly alike. The most elaborate treatment is that of No. 3, where the *lorica* terminates below in a double set of flaps with ornamented ends, as is frequently found,¹ and is girt round the waist with a sash (*cingulum*) tied in a knot. The latter detail perhaps justifies us in regarding the figure as that of a soldier with the Imperium, though apparently this is not a sure sign of this rank.² The narrower sash worn by No. 5 is less likely to have this meaning, but in any case certainty is impossible. Further variety is achieved in the position of No. 4, where the fall of the drapery indicates that the right leg was somewhat thrust forward, that is to say, that the rider was turned towards the left in his saddle; Nos. 5 and 6 from the advanced position of the left thigh were equally turned towards the right.³ For the position of the arms there is little evidence, as they are nearly all broken off short at the shoulder, and the position of the dowel-holes for the attachment of the arms does not furnish definite information. The upper l. arm of No. 6 hung downwards and the left hand presumably held the reins; this is the natural inference with regard to the rest of the figures, but there are no remains to prove it. The

¹ E.g., on the figure of M. Aurelius on the relief, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome, showing the Emperor pardoning captives.

² See Daremberg and Saglio, *s.vv.* *Lorica*, §§ 15, 26, and *Cingulum*, esp. Fig. 1501.

³ To either of these might be attributed the fragment No. 15, which is apparently of a rider's r. leg pressed against his horse's flank as he turned to the right in his saddle.

clasped r. hand (No. 7, *b*), if rightly attributed to the group, tells us little, beyond that it held some thin object made in two pieces; the fingers seem clenched too tight for this to have been a spear, and the fact that the dowel-holes by which the object in question were attached are not in one straight line leaves the point altogether doubtful.

The type of the *lorica* is extremely simple, and indeed identical in Nos. 4, 5, and 6; in No. 3 a little elaboration is given, *e.g.* in the beaded edge of the straight piece which protects the front of the r. shoulder, and in the l. shoulder-piece, where it projects from below the paludamentum. Very similar treatment of the shoulder-pieces may be seen in the bronze 'Alexander' statuette already mentioned,¹ and in the standing legionary beside the figure of M. Aurelius on the Conservatori relief cited above.

The prancing attitude of the horses must have involved considerable difficulties in construction. It will have been noticed that most of the fragments from their bodies and legs show that the horses were built up of pieces of marble of varying sizes. Many of the leg-fragments still show holes for the dowels which held them together, and in one shoulder-fragment (No. 36) there are still traces of two iron dowels; but it is not always possible to distinguish with certainty, except where the joint has a dressed surface, the dowel-holes belonging to the original construction from those indicating the repair of a subsequent breakage. In the bodies of the horses there is no uniformity in the type of construction. In No. 24, in the British Museum, the head and neck are of a separate block of marble from the fore-hand, as also in No. 26; but in No. 27 they are made from one large block, and in No. 25 the fore-hand is made of two blocks joined side by side with clamps across the middle of the chest, of which the right-hand side is missing. At the back of No. 24 is a rectangular sinking to receive the front end of a stout bar of wood round which the figure was built up, and the curved inner surface of the best-preserved of the fragments from the saddles (No. 62) affords further proof of this type of construction. Most of the other fragments from the horses' bodies (Nos. 63-68) are dressed smooth on the inner surfaces and do not show any traces of attachment either to a framework or to adjoining fragments, and it is hard to see how they were kept in position.

But even this type of construction, though it would greatly lessen the weight of the figures, would be useless without strong supports of

¹ P. 71, note 2.

some sort under the fore-parts of the horses. And strangely there is no indication on any of the surviving fragments of support of this kind. It is hardly possible that support under the forelegs would have sufficed to bear the weight, and none of the hooves seem to have been resting on any other object. Presumably some strong prop was placed under the chest behind the fore-legs, but its nature must remain uncertain. Speculation on this point is unprofitable, as we do not know whom the group represents, but in view of the military dress of the majority of the riders a figure of a half-prostrate enemy¹ would be most appropriate, or, among inanimate objects, a trophy.² The fact that some of the riders are turned towards one side rather suggests that they were represented as striking at an opponent, and for them the use of a crouching human figure as a support is by no means improbable. In any case, we have no means of telling whether all the figures had supports of the same type, or whether here, too, there was a variety of motives and treatment.

STYLE AND DATE OF THE GROUP.

We have seen that the Italian origin of the marble proves that this group cannot be of Greek origin, and it is equally clear that apart from this fact there is nothing in the workmanship inconsistent with its being Roman work of the Imperial Age. In the absence of the heads of the riders it is impossible to give an exact dating, but the impression conveyed by frequent study of the fragments is that the 2nd century after Christ is the most likely date. The treatment of the drapery of the figure in the heavy cloak is more careful than the rest, but even it is lifeless, and that of most of the other torsi is very poor and sketchy. There is none of the undercutting of the drapery with a drill which might indicate a 3rd

¹ The best examples of this type occur in coins, where it is presumably adapted from a statue-type. Cf. the reverses of gold and 'first brass' coins of Trajan, Cohen, *Medailles*², Nos. 501, 503. It is common on copper coins of 3rd century Emperors, and was adopted occasionally by Greek cities in the provinces; e.g. Tomi, where it appears on a bronze coin of Gordian III., Pick, *Antike Münzen Nordgriechenlands*, Pl. VII. 19. Other examples of equestrian statues with human and semi-human figures under the horses' fore-legs are collected in Reinach, *Rep. Sculpt.* ii., pp. 528, 5, 6, 529, 1-5, 533, 4; iii. p. 270, 2; iv. p. 334, 2.

² Cf. the use of trophies of armour to support the standing figures of the Dioscuri, on Monte Cavallo (above, p. 86, note 2), where the horses are supported with plain marble pedestals behind the fore-legs. For tree-trunks used for this purpose see Amelung, *Sculp. des Vatican. Mus.* vol. ii. Pls. XXXVII, No. 166; XXXVIII, Nos. 175, 178, which are all very much restored.

century dating, and it seems equally to lack the firm handling characteristic of good 1st century work. Again, the horses' heads are heavy, and though the treatment of the surface is not unpleasing, there is little attempt at realism, with the exception of the fragment (No. 28) noted above for its more literal rendering of the bony structure of the head.¹ Similarly, their bodies seem heavy, and notably the treatment of the chest-muscles is coarse and exaggerated. The variety in the rendering of their legs has been noted already. On the whole, making due allowance both for the difficulty of judging their appearance when complete from a mass of fragments and for the difference of material, they seem to compare very poorly with the dignified bronze charger of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza del Campidoglio, and no less lack the fire and movement of the horses of the Dioscuri on Monte Cavallo. If they are inferior in style to the former we must admit, on the evidence of the surviving fragments, that their riders exhibit an equal inferiority to the figure of the Emperor; and this inferiority is due rather to their poorer quality of workmanship than to a later origin. If the discoverer is right in identifying the site where these figures were found with the Villa of Antoninus Pius,² the natural inference is that they belonged to a scheme for decorating its precincts with statuary, perhaps in this case a copy of some recent group in bronze,³ rather than that they formed part of a treasured collection of masterpieces. Thus it is not unreasonable to recognise in it a work of the middle of the 2nd century of our era.

¹ The enthusiasm of Lord Savile's friend and correspondent, in *Archaeologia*, liii. p. 151, is not shared by the present writer, after repeated handling of all the fragments.

² *Op. cit.* liii. p. 149 f. I did not see, until this article was in print, a valuable paper on the topography of Civita Lavinia by G. E. Colburn, in *A.J.A.* xviii. (1914), pp. 185 ff. It should be noted that he does not accept this site as a Royal Villa (pp. 197 f.); that he considers these sculptures to be of Parian marble (merely following Lord Savile), and is apparently not aware of the existence of the collection at Leeds.

³ There is no difficulty about believing that the group may have represented members of the Imperial family and mounted retainers. But it is to be hoped that the portrait-heads were of better style than the *torsi*, which may well have been the case.

POSTSCRIPT.

The British Museum possesses some further pieces of sculpture, which are not included in the *Catalogue* (vol. iii.), but seem to belong to this group. Unfortunately I was unaware of their existence in time to publish them in this article, but hope to do so, with the kind permission of Mr. A. H. Smith, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, in a subsequent number of these *Papers*. They consist of a horse's head and two booted feet of riders similar to Nos. 15-22 above.—A M.W.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

VOL. VII. No. 3.

THE GRAND TOUR OF AN ELIZABETHAN.

By A. H. S. YEAMES, M.A.

ENGLISH travellers in the days of the Tudors who have left behind them the story of their wanderings in the civilised lands of Europe are so few that perhaps little excuse is needed for the publication of a diary kept for Sir Edward Unton.

Unton was a gentleman of Berkshire, and traced his pedigree to Edward IV.'s time. He married in 1555 a widowed daughter of the Protector Somerset, was knighted by the Queen in 1559, and in 1574 had the honour to entertain her at his house of Wadley near Faringdon. He was Sheriff in 1567 and elected to Parliament in 1572. He died in 1583 and was buried in Faringdon Church.

His younger son, Henry, took a larger part in affairs of State. He, too, sat in Parliament, but he is chiefly remembered as Ambassador to France and friend of Henry IV., who is said to have mourned his death at the siege of La Fère in 1596. There is a curious portrait of the younger Unton in the National Portrait Gallery. Sir Edward Unton, like many another man of good family and promise, obtained permission to travel abroad in 1563,¹ and was careful that an account of his journey should be kept day by day by "Richard Smith gentleman," as the MS. tells us, "sometime servant to Sir Edward Unton of Wadley." The diary is preserved in the British Museum (Sloane MSS. 1813).

¹ Licences to travel were not lightly granted. Cf. *Cecil Papers (Hist. MSS. Com.)*, vol. x. pp. 137, 295, 387, 412, etc.

The modern literature of Italian travel was begun in England in 1547 by Andrew Boorde, who in his *Introduction of Knowledge*¹ attempted in naïve fashion to depict the manners of the different regions of Italy. He was followed by an admirable writer, William Thomas, whose *Historie of Italie*, printed in 1549,² gives not only a history of the Italian States but an impartial survey of their condition in his day, and a sober criticism of Italian manners. Thomas's book was known to the writer of the diary.

Under Elizabeth the two best travellers were perhaps Thomas Hoby, whose diary has been printed by the Camden Society,³ and Fynes Moryson who was in Italy in 1594-5. His narrative appeared in a stately folio in 1617, and has been lately republished at Glasgow by Maclehose.

Hoby is well known as the translator of *Castiglione's Cortigiano*, the book of which Ascham said: "To join learning with comely exercises, Conte Baldesar Castiglione, in his book Cortegian doth trimly teach; which book advisedly read and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wiss, than three years' travel abroad spent in Italy." But Ascham was a fierce hater of Italian ways, which he judged and condemned after nine days spent at Venice. That city then held in the imagination of home-bred Englishmen the place since taken by Paris as the home of luxury and vice. Ascham's condemnation of travel, however, became a commonplace, which was echoed by many an Elizabethan writer, to whom the Italianate Englishman was an object of scorn or righteous indignation. The swarm of travellers, indeed, ever increasing,⁴ did not listen to them, and preferred the advice of such champions of foreign travel as Francis Bacon. Hoby certainly would not have agreed with the admirer of his Courtier. He was twice in Italy, in 1548-9 and 1554, and met a large number of Englishmen, especially on his second journey, when many of his Protestant countrymen preferred to live at Padua under the tolerant rule of Venice than at home under Mary.

¹ The book was printed in 1547 by Copland and has been edited for the Early English Text Society (*Extra Series*, vol. x. 1870) by Furnivall. *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* (Pynson, 1511; Camden Society, 1851) has only a few pages on Italy.

² The printer was Berthelet. This edition was condemned and burnt. Later editions appeared in 1561 and 1562.

³ *Camden Miscellany*, vol. x. (1902).

⁴ "Such a rabble of English roam now in Italy. . . ." Sir Thos. Chaloner to the Earl of Essex (1596-7) in *Cecil Papers*, vol. vii. p. 10.

Hoby's diary is a bald narrative, mentioning the names of inns, recording inscriptions, and but rarely admitting a little colour, as when he describes his narrow escape from pirates who lay under Monte Circeo while he passed on his way from Ostia to Gaeta. He was bold enough to travel by land from Naples to Reggio, and arrived without mishap. He thus accomplished a journey which was rarely made by strangers, and from which as late as 1770 the Neapolitans dissuaded Brydone on account of the danger of brigands.¹

Fynes Moryson was a serious student of foreign manners, who has left a number of observations not unworthy of notice. The most vivid chapter of his book is perhaps that in which he describes his adventures in Rome, where a Protestant Englishman, even if he enjoyed the protection of Cardinal Allen, ran some serious risk, especially when from mere curiosity he sought an interview with Cardinal Bellarmine.

Mr. Richard Smith had many merits as a traveller which entitle him to a place beside Hoby and Moryson. He was quick to note the manners of the people as they appeared to him in the inn or the market-place, and to describe with curious detail the fashions of their dress. He was interested in agriculture, and observed the crops and fruits which were cultivated by the road. He was struck by the goitre and gives the common explanation of that disease. He remarks singular ways of building and is warm in his praise of Antwerp, of Augsburg, of the Cathedral of Florence, and, with some hesitation, of that of Siena. Rome depressed him. Like his contemporary, Du Bellay, he found but little trace of its ancient splendour,² but he admired the Vatican, to which Pius IV. was then adding, and foresaw the magnificence of St. Peter's. His description of Rome, however, is so brief that he is clearly more at home in the fields and the inns by the road than in a city which bewildered him. We may conjecture that it was the contrast with the life of Berkshire which chiefly roused his interest in his journey through foreign lands.

The diary is a small volume of 57 leaves in 12mo, written in a very

¹ Thomas, *op. cit.*, f. 7 v. pays a high tribute to the administration of justice in Italy, and says: "I thynke no countrey more quiete than it," but he goes on to remark, "the realme of Naples and some part of the Romaine territorie excepted, where many tymes happeneth much robberyng by the waies."

² Thomas, *op. cit.*, f. 22 grieves to see "the onelie jewell . . . of this worlde . . . lie so desolate and disfigured, that there is no lamentable case to be harde, or lothesome thyng to be seen, that maie be compared to a small part of it."

crabbed hand. On f. 2 v. is the note in a later hand: Aquapendente ye first towne of popes dominion, in the way fro(m) Florence to Rome: from the(n)ce

To Mo(n)te Fiascone..	15 mile
To Ronciglione	15 mile
To Rome	30.

On f. 3 is the title of the diary: "The Jorney of Sir Edward Unton and his company into Italy wherein is contained the names of the townes where he bayted and laye / and the distaunces of myles betwene them / wherein is to be noted that one dutche myle conteyneth iii englysche myles /"

Below in another and clearer hand is the note: "This journall was written by Richard Smith gentleman, some time servante to Sr Edward Unton of Wadley in the countye of Bercks knight /"

The diary begins on f. 4, and breaks off abruptly on f. 55, when the travellers had reached Mainz on their way home. On f. 56 is the note: "the sume of my m(aste)r his dets when he went into Italy ———1592^{li}," and on f. 57 what seems to be a short description of four books.

I have printed the diary in the original spelling, and with the dashes which serve for stops. I have been sparing of notes until the travellers reach Italy, but I have attempted to identify all the places at which they slept or baited. A few words I have not deciphered.

A. H. S. YEAMES.

(f. 4). We toke shippinge at Dover the xiith of marche ano dni 1563 at 8 of the clocke at nyght and landed in zeland betwen flushing and mydleborowe the next daye aboute ii of the clocke in the afternone and so we(n)t to mydleborowe to bed the same nyght / zeland is a contry lying very lowe so that the sea lyeth above it round aboute / being defended from drowninge of the sea only by a certain bank that is of a grete hyght it is but a smale iland for that the better parte (f. 4 v.) of the contry hathe ben drowned by the sea / as apereth by the churches and other things that ar to be sene in the sea there ar foure or v proper townes within the same iland / wherof mydleboroughe aforsayd is the chefeste / the which is a very fayre large cytye waled . . . and a great water mote /

the buyldinge is very fayre of brycke and frestone covered with blue slate it standeth uppon the (f. 5) shore / the gretest shypps that be maye esely come upp within the towne al the rest of the towns ar in lyke case verry prety townes and all havens the contry of it sellff is littell worthe for all their welthe standeth only uppon marchandryes / the which is very grete / wode they have none within the contry cattell not many / and corne very littell / (f. 5 v.) the xiiiith day of the same m(onth) we toke shippinge at Arm . . .¹ in zeland and landed at barrow² in brabante the same daye / barrow is a very fayre towne much like unto mydleborowe and of the very same order off buyldinge and sytuacon there lawes and maners bothe in zeland and holland dyffyre very lyttell / horyble execucon done uppon offend(er)s in both places / a towne of much wealth (f. 6) we departed from barrow the nex(t) morny(n)ge nerlly and went in wagon to antwarpt the which is aboute xx myles englyshe / the cuntry betwene the sayde cytyes mervelous barron for the most parte / lyeng uppon the seas somewhat hye / so that it nether bereth corne / gras / nor woode / except it be near antwarpt where they dyg their corneland with spades / in dyvers places / (f. 6 v.) we came to antwerpt the xxth of marche and were lodged in the englyshe house / it is a cytie of mervelous wealth passyng all most any cytie within europe / for as I have reported by dyver(s) merchaunts of credyte / there ar dyver merchaunts with(in) the cytie that ar worthe iiii thousand pounds / and not so excedinge in riches but also passynge in beautie a towne of much streng(t)h beinge walled / with a great rampert of earth (f. 7) cast up agenst the same walle in the inner syde of a merveylous thicknes / and a great water dicke very brode and depe / the fyelds withoute the walles being conveyhed in gardens of gret lardgnes a myle and better from the towne beinge forced to be fruitfull only by the labor of mens hands / ther is a very fair ryver that goeth by the towne wherby ships of al nacons bringeth marchandyse (f. 7 v.) to the sayd cytie / also ther ar dyvers stretes wher hoys and other ships may pass under with marchandyse and unlade in dyvers places within the towne / ther is also within the cytie ii places called the burses one for englyshmen only the other for all maner of nacons in the worlde and that is called the corner bursse / it is a thing bylded foure square in maner of a cloyster about iiii yards every waye and the same is a place (f. 8) wher all maner of fyne wares ar to be solde and

¹ Armuijen.² Bergen-op-Zoom ?

is called the pawne / it is maner of a galery bylded close over hed and garnyshed with all manner of fine wares that ar to (be) solde / the buyldinge of the cytie is very curyous ether brick or ffrestone / ther is a guyld hall now a buyldinge which is buylded uppon vaults the whole house beinge made of marble / grey / whyt / and blacke so sumptuous that is thought it will cost iiicc thousand pound (f. 8 v.) before it be fynyshed / ther ar dyvers good orders within the towne amonge the which ther is one for orphanes and foundlinge children¹ / that is as sone as the(y) be able to do any kynd of thing in the worlde / they be put into a house ordeyned for the purpose wher they ar founde by the towne untill they be well able to earn their owne lyvinge / and so relested by the dyscretyon of the master of the towne / ther is a house for men children / and another for women wheras they ar taught all maner of handy crafts / And thus remayning (f. 9) ther by the space of vi dayes and haveinge sene the pryories nonryes and dyvers houses of religion and havynge vewed the towne sufficiently we departed thence the xxvth of marche uppon horses that we there bought / and so rode thorow a proper towne in brabant called Leir² / vi englysche myles dystant from antwerp being well sytuated and duple moted rounde with ii water dyches of a good breddethe the buyldinge of the towne after the maner of the rest of the townes before expressed the contry aboute (f. 9 v.) the sayd towne indefferent fruitfull as the people of the contry dothe use it for they ar mervelous paynfull in dunging their ground and diging it in dyvers places with spaddes as well wher they sow their corne as also wher the(y) sow ther herbs and rotes which they almost all to gether lyve by / so passing thorow this prety towne we come to a village called emptington³ vi myles dystant from the saide Leir w(h)ere we bayted owre horses and so rode thorowe a woddy contry very heathy a(nd) mervelous barren to an old towne called (f. 10) dyste⁴ which standeth lowe at the fote of a hill / this towne is doble dyched with water diches and walled / it hathe also a ryver runnyng th(or)owe it the water loketh very ill for that the towne semeth to stand uppon a marrys at this towne we were used in owne vittayls as (we) were in other places before expressed haveinge that we called for at very excessyve pryces we departed from thence the next morow beinge

¹ There were similar hospitals at Venice. Cf. Thomas, *Historie of Italie*, f. 82 v. (Ed. 1549).

² Lierre.

³ Iteghem?

⁴ Diest.

the xxvith (f. 10 v.) of march towards mastryk ¹ aboute xxi myles dystant ffrom dyste passinge thorow rwo prety littell townes which were walled and diked the which ar called [omission in MS.] and haslett ² the contry betwene dyst and mastryke indifferent ffruitfull / we bayted not before we came to mastryke which is a very fayre towen well waled and dyched / the farthest towne of all brabant where beginnethe hye dutchland it hathe a fayre ryver runyng (f. 11) by the townes syde which cometh ffrom the ryver of rhyne / this towne is bothe fayre and large sytuated in a very faire / pleasaunte and fruitfull contrye / bothe of wood and gras / but in especyall of corne / sheepe there ar some but not meyny / we sawe bothe sheepe and swyne kept in their corne / the order of this towne is that every travyler must syt at the ordynary table the m(aste)r and servants / we were used there very resonable (f. 11 v.) of this towne I can say no more for that we cold tary ther but one nyght And so departe the next mornynge being the xxviith of marche towards gulyke ³ which is from mastryke xxi englysh myles we bayted at a village by the waye called Vlyke ⁴ wher as we had but homelye chere and as ill served / the contry none the less semeth to be indiffrent fruitfull and the people as rude and beggerly / after our bayte we went to gulyk / (f. 12) which is eight or ix myles from Ulyke / where we were well used our ordynary the ordynary is in this maner after we were alyghted ffrom our horses our horses wer taken and set upp and dressed very well and had hay and otes very resonable / we had our chamber appointed every one his bed / our vittayles in this order / the servant covereth the table being square after as the company is / iff there be xii persons or therabout he setteth ii candells at ii corners / ii sallts at ii corners then trencher plates round aboute the (f. 12 v.) the table / every trencher his bred and napkin / and glas off Reynyshe wyne / then he bringeth in the firste course / when the first course is done he taketh away the meat / and sett upon the table a great trene platter made for the purpose wherinto every man puteth his trencher then bringethe to every man a clen trencher / and setteth the second course upon the table when the second course is ended he dothe as is aforesaid and settethe ffruit uppon the table / and forseeth allwais that your glase be filled with wyne (f. 13) your horsmeat and your owne is reconed all together the which ordynary we found very resonable / note when your firruyte cometh to the table first a platter of theese and uppon

¹ Maastricht.² Hasselt.³ Jülich.⁴ Valkenburg?

the same a dyshe of salt butter / fresh butter we saw none / this ordynary began at mastyke / gulik is a pretye littell old towne walled and dyched sytuated in a very plesaunte contry and a faire river runyng by the towne / the next mornynge being the xxviiiith of marche we passed toward coleyn¹ beinge xviii englishe (f. 13 v.) myles from gulyke wheras we passed thorow a contry forest which semeth to be plesaunt Coleyn is a ffayre olde cytye sytuated in a very plesaunte playne contry and semethe ffruitfull and apte to bear much corne and all be it ther is as well ther as also in dyvers other places betwene antwerp and it corne good store yet make they nether good ale nor good bear thorowe the whole contrye / this cytye stand uppon the ryver syde of rehyne whiche (f. 14) is one of the fayrest ryvers of the worlde we remayned in this towne ii dayes wher we vewed many things amonge the which we sawe an offeryng to the iii kynges of collen which is passinge riche of gold and jewells / ther is nothing to be sene of the said kinges, but only is it were iii sculls lyinge enclosed in a grate of iron / also we were in a nonery where as the nones may marrye at their owne pleasure and so to depart the house / in this (f. 14 v.) nonery wer dyvers proper women the lyke before we nether sawe within the said towne nether in any place in all the lande before / we were lodged by the ryver syde and had our meate accordinge to ordynary somewhate derer than before we departed ffrom coleyn the xxviiiith of marche in the mornynge towarde a littell thorowfare called woinder² which is x duch myles distante ffrom coleyne leavyng the ryver of rehyne (f. 15) all the way uppon the lefte hande / and after we were aboute iii englyshe myles from coleyn ther is planted uppon eyther syde of the same ryver vyne yeards of merveyulous largenes so passinge by the rever we came to a littell towne waled and well sytuated caled beysye bowne³ / beinge iiii leages ffrom coleyne and ii leages ffrom Woinder where we laye all nyght were we were lodged even uppon the ryver syde wheras the (f. 15 v.) contry standeth for the most parte uppon vigneyards ffrom thence we went the next mornynge being the xxviiiith of marche towarde a proper towne called covelence⁴ which is vi leages ffrom Woinder aforesayde so that we passed by the way thither thorow iii townes the one caled s.....⁵ the other pryslyke⁶ and the third andermak⁷ which semethe to be a prety towne /

¹ Cologne.² ?³ Bonn.⁴ Coblenz.⁵ Sinzig ?⁶ Nieder Breisig?⁷ Andernach.

the other ii of no reputacon / our way lyenge styll uppon the ryver syde (f. 16) a fore sayd uppon ether syde of this ryver betwene woinder and andermake even hard uppon the shore so that horses may but well travayll ar great rockye hills off wonderfull stepenes wheruppon in dyvers places ar bylded castells and noble men's houses which seme to be off grete fforce and strenghe / and betwene the hills and the ryver yea and uppon the hills sydes for the moste parte is nothinge but vineyards / (f. 16 v.) betwene andermake and covolence is ii leages where we laye all nyght / and at the townes end as we entered the towne we passed [erased] the ryver of [rehyn, erased] mosel aforesayed over a fayre brydge of stone / where as we entered the gate of the towen we payde for our entrye / in this contrye as we came we sawe in their corne feilds bothe off aple bus pear trees wallnutt trees and other ffruits grett store / the people a very paynfull and not so paynefull as rude and sluttyshe / they dyffer (f. 17) in apparrell very farr ffrom the brabanter both men and women: / we departed from thence the next morninge beinge the xxixth of march tow(arde) baysraye¹ the which is vii leagues from covolence / ryding by two prety littell townes the one called boubace² iii league from covolence the other stugenan³ ii leagues from boubate / all our way laye uppon the ryver syde aforesayde the way beinge very strayte by means (f. 17 v.) of the great rocky hills that bounde so near uppon the ryver syde so that in dyvers places a horse myght sca(r)ce passe / uppon thes rockes in very many places ar builded noble mens houses and houses of relygyon / which stand merveylously to behold within a myle off wynter⁴ the byshoppe of coleyn hath a stronge castell uppon the right hand of the ryver as we rode allso the byshope of trevyse⁵ hathe another (f. 18) uppon the same syde on agen to covolence aforesaid this ii byshops ar ii of the electors of the emperour and men of gretest autorytie in this contrye / thes rocky hills aforesayde ar planted in merveylouse order with vyneyards even to the topp in most places / baysran is a littell olde towne of the emperoure wheras it is sayd the best rehynyshe wyne is made uppon all ryver (f. 18 v.) this contry for the most parte standeth uppon vynes we lodged there all nyght / and had our vittayll accordinge to the ordynary there used / note that in all places the ordynary is not lyke / for wher in some places you shall fare well after ix or x^d the meall /

¹ Bacharach ?² Boppard ?³ St. Goar ?⁴ Königswinter.⁵ Trier.

in some other places not so well for xiiii^d the people in most places very rude / we were dryven in most places to dress our owne horses (f. 19) and the slaves of the house stand by and looke on / looke what they demande for any thinge you take be it never so unresonable you must of force pay it / our lodginge very good in the moste places / and every man his bed by hym self / and a littell lyght bed of fyne fether to lay uppon hym / ffrom thence we departed the next mornynge beinge the xxxth of marche to mentz ¹ which is vi leagues (f. 19 v.) from baysran travayling even the lyke passage as is a foresayde / untill we came to a pretye towne called bynge ² ii leagues ffrom baysran wher we and our horses passed ov(er) a ryver ³ by boote / which ryver even then goeth in to the rehyn this towne standeth at the ende off the strayte afforsayd / so that betwen this towne and mentz the contry is very fayre and (f. 20) fruitfull / after we were ii leagues from binga we bayted at a village called Englend ⁴ and ffrom thence to mentz to bedd / leaving the ryver of rehyn upon the lefte hand as is aforsaid ii englyshe myles ryding by a wood of fyer / which is to our judgment iiiii or v myles aboute / this daye we felt the heat of the sone to be very whote / as whote as it is in Englande in (f. 20 v.) in harveste / this mentz semeth to be an old towne standinge uppon the ryver syde aforesaide in a fayre contry / the wemen of this contry were very straunge apparrell to our judgment / uppon their heds blacke capps in maner of old mens caps that hath bene worne in Englande comynge downe in the necke and layd wyth black rybon sylke or black strynge rounde aboute the edges / their hear platted which . . . hanginge downe or trussed uppon their caps (f. 21) uppon their neckes parcleth in fashion of the cape of a shepherds cloke ether off clothe ether sylke some of one coloure some of an other / onles she be a woman of grate welth which be always black / but for the com(m)o(n) sorte they be of coloures garded aboute the edges with a contrary colour and some edged with furr / uppon their bodys petycotes / and uppon the same an over bodyes of some other coler / also they were in maner of a kyrtell or seffegarde (f. 21 v.) a garment ether off saye wosted / or clothe of some coler as red blew gren or suche lyke or in maner of a motley gathered in playte very thicke / with iii gardes of a contrary coler uppon the nether partes of the same / if it have iii gardes then is the mydell garde very brode / if it have but one it is also very brode / they were whyte hose of clothe

¹ Mainz.² Bingen.³ The Nahe.⁴ Ingelheim.

or knytt their girdles full of . . . they ar well faced women in most (f. 22) places of this land / and as ill bodyed / I have written of this attyer becaus I had not sene the lyke before / in every inne where we came all the gests must sit to gether be they never suche slaves / as we were dryven in many places to syt with suche slaves that a man wold abhor to se such fylthye hands in his dyshe / ffrom mentz we departed the next mornynge being the xxxist of marche our way lying still near unto the (f. 22 v.) ryver syde / the contry semeth fruitfull for that we passed thorowe more pasture grounde then we did in all the land before we came to a littell towne called openaime ¹ iiii leagues from mentz where we lay all nyght allso we sawe uppon this ryver betwene thes ii townes certen gryste mylles to the nomber of ii which were buylded in a grete boote which went from place to place to grynde corne / which went by the (f. 23) runynge of the ryver / of thes mylls ther ar dyvers uppon this ryver / they have uppon the oute sydes of the botes certen water whelles which ar dryven by the course of the ryver / they lye at anker always when they grynde / we departed from thence the next morninge being the first of aprill beinge ester even and came to wormes ² a very proper cytye / where we bayted / very well sytuated in a plesaunte contry and fruitfull / ffrom thence we went to (f. 23 v.) spyres ³ a proper cytye this towne with the other before named a well waled and diked howbeit this spires is the stronger by means it standeth uppon a marrys and is distaunte ffrom wormes vi leagues / ther we remayned the second day of Aprill beinge ester daye / from thence we departed the third of Aprill toward a towne called bretta ⁴ passynge by a towne called prussa ⁵ iii leagues (f. 24) and a half ffrom spires and so to bretta one league and a half ffrom prussa thes towns ar walled and diked the contry very fruitfull as it semeth / we passed the ryver of rehyne after we were passed spyres one english myle so that we leffte the same ryver uppon our ryght hand / a gret waye / at bretta we laye all nyght and were used as is aforesayd in other places from thence we departed the next mornynge being the 4 of aprill and bayted at a towne called fayinga ⁶ which is 3 leagues (f. 24 v.) ffrom bretta / note that after we paste spires the leagues ar muche longer than the leagues we had ryden before so that we were not able to ryde seven in a daye with any ease / this fayinga is prety littell

¹ Oppenheim.² Worms.³ Speyer.⁴ Bretten.⁵ Bruchsal.⁶ Vaihingen.

towne / ffrom thence we went to eslynga¹ a fayre towne and lardge which is distant from fayinga 4 longe leagues / ther we laye all nyghte / this contry is very good as it semeth very well planted with faire townes / note that all townes (f. 25) in this contry are waled and for many of them castells of noble men adjoined unto the(m) but neverthe less we had our vittayls in the lyke order as is aforesaid from thence we roode the 5 of aprill to a littell towne called keppinge² 3 lea(gues) from eslinge and there bayted and from thence rood to an other littell towne called kyslinge,³ 2 leagues from thence where we laye all nyght / ffrom thence we rood the 6 of Aprill to Vlmes⁴ wher we lay al nyght 4 leagues from keyslinge Vllmes is a fayre cytye and well sytuated / in this parte they (f. 25 v.) dyffer lyttell in the tyllage of their land from the tyllage aboute london / ffrom thence we rode the 7 of Aprill to a littell towne called keynseburgg⁵ 3 lea(gues) distant from vllmes wher we lay a nyght / we rode from then(ce) the 8 of Aprill to Augusta alias Auspurge⁶ and bayted by the waye / Auspurge is ffrom keynspurge vi leagues the contry betwene is very goode and fruytfull both for corne wood and grasse / we have sene notwithstandinge very littell enclosed ground in all the whole (f. 26) lande or in effect none at all the people of this lande do so fare differ in their apparrell and in especyally women / that it containe a volume to describe the same / auspurge is a fayre large cytye cont(eining) one league by the wall / in buildings passinge any other cytye before expressed ther ar dyvers houses covered with copper very sumtuous / the cytye is sytuated in a faire contrye / ther is within this cyte nothinge more to be noted then the devyse they have ordeyned for the servinge of the towne (f. 26 v.) with water by conduites wherof ther ar very many / ther is a place called the water toure the which is of a gret heyghe / thourow the which tour they cause water to run in troughes / the which water is conveyhed by pumpes the which are dryven to labor by force of water wheles / the pumpes brynge the saide water to ascend unto the topp of the sayd toure by great pypes of brasse in to certen cesternes ffrom the which it dothe descend by dyvers pypes in every parte of this (f. 27) cytye / to declare the order of the pumpes wolde aske more leasur then I hadd to veiwe the same / ffrom auspurge we departed the 10 of Aprill and rode a littell towne called lansburge⁷ vi litle leagues ffrom auspurge / ffrom

¹ Esslingen.² Göppingen.³ Geislingen.⁴ Ulm.⁵ Günzburg.⁶ Augsburg.⁷ Landsberg.

lansburge we rode to a village called soya¹ vi leagues ffrom lansburge the 12 of aprill and bayted 4 leagues from lansburg at a littell towne called sengau² after we passed (f. 27 v.) this towne we entered the mountaynes this contrye is very full of woode the which is firr trees / ffrom soya we rood the 13 Aprill to a nother village caled metyvalle³ vii leagues ffrom soya and bayted at a village iiii leagues and a half from soya called bortencyrch⁴ / this bayt we had a guyde because the way is ill to fynd by means of the woods and mountaynes / the way is indifferent esy to travayll for that it lyeth betwene (f. 28) the huge mountaynes / the valleys betwene thes hills ar very plesaunte and fruitfull / the mountayns of merveyulous heyghe so that of dyvers of them we cold not esyly descere the topps, wher uppon lyeth snowe all tymes of the year / besett with firr trees even to the topps / ffrom metyvall we rood the 14 of Aprill to a pretty towne called insburge⁵ vi leagues distante and bayted at a village called seefeld⁶ beinge the mydd way and the ffirste towne of tyrole in the villags we weer well used bothe of vittals and lodginge / the houses buylded after a very straunge fashyon / made all only of fyrr / covered with fyrr bords in maner of slatts layenge stones uppon then to keep them on in steede of nayles / dyvers of their houses made of fir poles unsawed one pole pyned with another very straunge (f. 29) thes vylages ar sytuated in the plesaunte valleys betwene thes huge mountaines / ffrom whence issue oute dyvers prety ryvers of marvelous swyftnes / wherein they have very good fyshe as carp pyke and troute and such lyke / off this kynd of fishe we had very good store the moste parte of our jornay they have very many saw mylls in this contry which goe with water / and will sawe more tymber in one (f. 29 v.) daye with one sawe then v in England with mens hands / this day we descended ii grete hills how be it our way was very good / in this towne of insburga the emperour hathe a house also he hathe builded ther a proper littell church and a cloyster of fryars in this church ar statues of brasse to the number of xxxi of the line of the emperour / ffrom thence we roode the 15 of aprill to a thorowfare called matra⁷ (f. 30) iii leagues and a half from insburge passinge the mountaynes by a more strayer way then before bur esye to travayle / ffrom thence we rode the 16 of aprill to a pretty towne called bryxen⁸ viii league long from matra and bayted at

¹ Baiersoyen ?² Schongau.³ Mittenwald.⁴ Partenkirchen.⁵ Innsbruck.⁶ Seefeld.⁷ Matrey.⁸ Brixen.

stersynge¹ in the mydd waye / our way lyenge as it did the day before / ffrom thence we rode the 17 of Aprill to a prety towne called bowlsane² vi leagues from bryxen and bayted at an inne in the myd way called colmin³ (f. 30 v.) our way lyenge amonge the hills as the day before how be it this contry semeth somewhat better though not muche for that about bowlsane they have many fayre vyneyards / and in the other places they seme to have nothinge fruitfull / ffrom thence we rode the 18 of aprill to trente⁴ vii leagues from bolsane / our waye very lyke the day before we bayted at a littell thorowfare called newmarket⁵ (f. 31) this dayes journey we sawe very many plesaunte vyne yeards planted contrary to the order of the vyneyeards uppon the ryver of rehyne for upon the river of rehyne the vynes do runne upp by stalkes wherunto they ar bounde / and in this contry they have frames made for them muche lyke as we do in England betwene every ranke of vynes the(y) sow corne whiche for the most parte is rye which is very good (f. 31 v.) in all the way amonge thes hills comonly in every leage you shall fynde an inne to bayte at if you lyste / it is very strange to se this contry inhabyted in dyvers places / for uppon thes hye hills which ar in effect nothing but rockes / we saw in almo(st) in every place houses planted / wheras dwell dyvers poor people who lyve very miserably from thes hylls ther dothe water descend in dyvers places very abundantly / partly (f. 32) by means of the abundance of snowe that lyeth upon thes mountaynes [last two words erased] / same ther ar dyvers people that inhabyte thes mountaines that have gret lumpes of fleshe hanginge under their chynnes / as it were uppon throttes / which is supposed groweth by reson of the drynking of snowe water / after we were iii leagues from bowlsane the people for the most parte could speake the italyan tonge (f. 32 v.) from trent my master rode the 21 of Aprill toward venyce leavyng me there to sell his horse trent is an old cytye sytuated in a very barron contry amonge the hills as is aforesayd a very swyfte ryver runyng by the towne which ysuethe oute of the hills in dyvers places betwene trente and bowlsane / ffrom trent I roode the 25 of Aprill to an old towne called burgo⁶ / the way muche worse amonge the mountaines then in any place before this is called the welshe contrye (f. 33) the people speak the ytalian tong they ar very craftye beggars and sluttyshe in all thear doings

¹ Sterzing.² Botzen.³ Kollman.⁴ Trent.⁵ Neumarkt.⁶ Borgo.

from trent to burgo ar iiii leagues ffrom alborgo I roode the 27 of Aprill to a towme called bassane¹ 6 leagues from alborgo the way very ill and strayte baytinge by the way att an ostary caled prymolane² in the myd waye aboute 2 Italian myles beyond prymolane / ther is a strayt passage which is kept wheras we entered the land of venyce / this passage devy-deth the land of tyrole from venyce land / bassane is vii leagues the next waye from venyce wherof one leage is by water / bassane standethe at the farthest parte of the mo(n)strous hills / even at the fote of the mountains (f. 33 v.) ffrom bassane I roode the 29 of Aprill to a cytye called treviso³ 5 leagues ffrom bassane the contry betwen very fayre and plesaunte wher as they have as it appereth very good rye / wheet / benes / otes / and fatches / but no barly / betwene every land of corne as it wer in the forows tres planted of dyvers fruite as plums cherys walnuts fyggs / and many other kynds settynge vynes betwene the said trees / which spred from tre to tre very plesaunte to be hold / also many playne comons where theyr cattell feed / the grasse semeth not to be very good beinge very full of horryble wormes lyke (f. 34) unto serpents grene of coloure ffrom treviso I went by a cotche the 2 of maye to a towne called mestre⁴ ii leagues from treviso / wheras I was stayed all nyghte / this towne standeth nere unto the place wher as the passage botes ar taken to go unto venyce and is one leage by water from thence / from thence to venyce the 3 of maye whence I went to paduaye to my master the 4 of may / paduay is from venyce xx myles Italian / ther ar ordynar(y) botes passe betwene bothe evening and morninge / (f. 34 v.) paduay is a cytie under the venecians estaste and is very lardge and mervelous stronge / wherin is a unyversitie / ther is also the tombe of Antheno(r)⁵ and the house of tytus Lyvius / it standeth in a plesaunte contrye ; build(ed) at the first by anthenor ffrom thence we departed 21 of maye to venyce wher we contynued 2 monthes / venyce one of the ffayrest syties of sumptuous byldinges in chrystendon cytuated in the (f. 35) salt water in the mouthe of the sea Adryatyke thear maners lawes and customs you shall in the [erasure] boke of William thomas⁶ although as it semeth unto me as well as to others that hath ben there that he speketh more in the prayse of itt than it dothe deserve I sawe in venyce a certain hor-

¹ Bassano.² Primolano³ Treviso.⁴ Mestre.⁵ The tomb of Antenor is mentioned by every traveller from Guylforde to Lassels, *Voyage of Italy* (1670), who dares to doubt its antiquity.⁶ *Historie of Italie*.

rible beast which was taken in ethiopia ix monthe before we sawe hym / this best was supposed to be a cocodrill / he was by estim(e) (f. 35 v.) a bowte 14 fote lone his scales so harde and thiike that no pyke was able to perce hym to do hym a grete harme / his hinder leggs were longer then his for legs / his nayles grete and longe / his tayle cuttynge lyke a saw / his hed longe his mouthe very wyde his tethe very grete / he was taken wythe gret iron hookes and a shepes hed and a gret chayne of iron / (f. 36) from venyce we went the 19 of Julye and toke horse at mestre aforsayd and roode to paduaye which is 18 myle of / from paduay the next mornynge toward fierrara / and lay at rovigo a towne of the venecyans 30 myle from paduaye ffrom thence the 21 of Julie to fierrare 25 myle ffrom thence note that in paduay is one of the cheffeste universities in all Italie; and better (f. 36 v.) served of good vitailles and better chepe the (*sic*) is venyce fierrara¹ is a fayre cytie and lardge standinge uppon the ryver syde called the poo / one of the notablest rivers in chrysten-dome / the people of this contry both men and wemen dyffer much in apparrel ffrom the venicians / although litell in pryde and deceitfulne(s) (f. 37) from fferara the 24 of Julie to bolonia which is 30 myle frome thence baytinge by the way at an ostrye the contrye betwene indyfferent fayre / bolonia a faire oled cytye of no grete force / very well served of good vittayles and better chepe then in any other place befor except ff(Ferrara) ther is also the cheffest (f. 37 v.) unyversitie in Italy / this towne is under the pope / ffrom thence went the 2 of August towards fflorence 54 myle from bolonya / and bayted at an ostry 16 myle off the waye worse to travayle than any before named the contry very barren and hillye / being called the alpenynes / at (*sic*) so to fiorenzola² a littell 14 myle (f. 38) walled towne sytuated amonge the sayd hills under the Duke of fflorence / ther laye we all night / ffrom thence the 3 of (of) Aug(u)st to fflorence / baytinge by the waye at a pretye thorowfare wher as the faire cast knyves ar made and such lyke things / caled skarperya:³ / 14 myle from (f. 38 v.) fiorenzola the way a(s) ill as may be possible / ffrom thence to fflorence 10 myle beyond the lyke way and contrye / we came to fflorence the 4 of August the which is a fayre old cytie of no grete force of it sellff standing in a mervaylous barren contry as it apereth amongst

¹ Alfonso II. (1559-1597) was then Duke.

² Firenzuola.

³ Scarperia. Montaigne, *Voyage*, ed. Lautrey, p. 185, says: "Petite villete de la Toscane, où il se vend force estuis et ciseaux, et samblable marchandise."

the hills / in this cytye is the fayrest bylded churche uppon the utter streat (f. 39) that ever I sawe being of whyte / black / and red marble very curyouslye wrought / we departed ffrom thence the 7 of August and bayted at a littell towne called san gastiane ¹ viii myle of and so to a littell olde towne called poggibonza ² xvi myle from our bayte where we laye / oure waye as ill as before / ffrom thence the 8 of Auguste to sienna xvi myle where we bayted (f. 39 v.) and laye that nyght / this sienna was a very fayre cytie and lardge before it was spoyled by meane of the duke of fflorence under whose estate it is now / and all the rest of the contry belonginge unto it which is grete and faire and ffruitfull of corne beinge a hillie contrye all this contrye merveilously spoyled by means of the wars it was thre yeaere befor the cytie and contry cold be subdued it was subdued by K phillip at the costs of the duke of florence.³ (f. 45) and now is in gret myserie in sienna is the most curyous churche that ever I sawe wrought with marble blake and whyte / bothe within and withoute as well the pavement as the reste so curyously wrought that it is merveylye to se / ffrom thence the 9 of August and bayted at a lyttell borow called bons convento ⁴ / xvi myle of and so to an other lyke place called san quirico belonging to sienna xiii myle from thence wher we lay (f. 40 v.) ffrom thence the 10 of Auguste to a hostry called paglia xiii myle and so to an other littell towne called aqua pendente xiii myle this towne is under the pope all the reste from our first bayte from bolonya ar under the duke of fflorence / our vittayles all the way and also for the moste parte of Italy is onely chykens (f. 41) and pogens painge ordinary for our horse and our selves after the rate of xiiii^d pence a man and horse at dyner and xxi^d at supper / ffrom aqua pendente the 11 of Auguste to another towne called monte fiascone xv myle of (of) the popes / this towne of the popes though old yet semeth stronge and the contry fruitfull of corne and wood and shepe / and so to roncilione xx myle more to bed (f. 41 v.) passing a proper cytie of the popes caled viterbo which standeth in a good contrye as it semeth / ffrom roncilione the 12 of August to Rome 30 myle bayteng at an ostrye in the myd waye / (41 v.) Rome standeth in a very faire plasaunte contry environed with plain fields / being very

¹ S. Casciano.

² Poggibonsi. "Le chemin bossu et pierreus" Montaigne *op. cit.* p. 198.

³ The famous siege of Siena was in 1554-5. During it the population fell from 40,000 to 8,000.

⁴ Buonconvento.

whote ther all the somer and not very cold in the winter it hath ben so often spoiled (f. 42) that it semeth not exceding beutyfull / but notwithstanding ther ar many goodly palaces of cardenalls / of any old auncyent buildynges nothing lefft standinge / the best that is standinge is the church that was called the pantheon which was of all their gods and now is the churche of all saincts being buillded far unlike the churches now a dayes for that itt is round withoute any window (42 v.) savyng a round hole in the toppe which gyveth such lyght into the churche that it is lyghter than any of the rest / also ther is standinge yet the pillars of Anthonynus and Trajanus emprours of Rome / which ar mervelous curyous wrought of a great heyghe (they) be only of whyte marbell / also ther is standinge dyvers of the tryumphantt arkes of dyvers emprours (f. 43) also ther is the pryson of saunte peter which now is a blynd chappell / ther is a nold church that was buillded to Romulus and Remus in fashion of the pantheon¹ ther ar other dyvers monuments of auncient things whose ruins ar ther to be sene but utterly rased and spoyled / the pope PIUS QUARTUS buildeth very much in Rome as in making the wale of the towne / (43 v.) and in beautyfienge his pallaice² which wille beinge fynyshed the goodlyest palace of the worlde / he buyldeth much also at the church of saynte peters / which wille (be) a goodly churche and it wer ended the which is not lyke to be many years / in this new church ther standeth a marble pillar uppon the which as they say our savy(our) chryst leaned (f. 44) when he preched in the temple of salamon in jer(usal)em / this pillar is of whyte marble lyke unto it ar a seven more in the old church of s. peter³ / very curyously wrought aboute xx fote hyghe or therabout nere unto this church of sainte peter standeth a notoryous pillar of red marble which is ix fote square and lxvi fote hye uppon (f. 44 v.) the tope therof ther is a gret round bale wheirin was put the ashes (of) Julius cesar / this is the grettest and longest pillar beinge of

Note on f. 44 v.: the best fleshe in Rome and good wyne good chep / fyshe dere and skant.

¹ The Heroon, built in 307 A.D. by Maxentius in memory of his son Romulus, and converted by Felix IV. (527-530) into the portico of the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano. Smith saw it before the restoration under Urban VIII.

² Under Pius IV. Bramante's plan to unite the Belvedere with the palace was carried out. For him too Ligorio built the Casino in the garden. Cf. Soranzo in Alberi, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, Ser. ii. vol. iv. p. 76.

³ From the Confession of old St. Peter's.

one stone in Rome / and is to be merv(ell)ed how he was set uppe for the hugenes¹ / ther ar dyvers other things of as old pictures / holy reliquykes which I pass over for tediousnes / we went from Rome the second day (f. 45) of september toward bologna passinge thourow the contry of Romagna / Ridinge the first nyght to an old borgo caled borgetto² xxxii myle from Rome bayting xx myle of at castell novo : from borgetto the iii of september passinge the river of tyber ii myle from thence / and went to an old cytie called terny xix myle passinge by an other old cytye of the popes called narny (f. 45 v.) ffrom terny the iiiith of september / (to) foligno xxiii myle baytinge at a cytie caled spolito in the myd way / thes cities are the popes and ruinous the contry betwene playne envyroned with hills on ether syde / the valey fruitfull of vines and corne the hills planted with olyves / from foligno the vth to an town caled sig . . .³ xx myle of baytinge at an ostri caled gabyfano⁴ from thence the vith of september to Urbyne xxxii myle / which is the (f. 46) chyef cytie of the duke of urbine which semeth to be a proper cytie situated uppon the toppe of a mountaine a mongst the alpenynes and semeth to be stronge for that is not to be battered butt onlye uppon one part which is not nere / this duke is not riche but welle loved⁵ / his contry not gret lyenge for the most parte amongst thes barren hills / ffrom thence (f. 46 v.) the vii of september baytinge at an old castell of his called monte fiore⁶ xxi myle from Urbyne and passinge all the hilly way after we were passed monte fiore and had a very faire way unto bologna / we went thorow a faire cytie of the popes called Rimino from thence 14 myle and so xi myle farther to an old towne of the pope called savignano to bed (f. 47) this Rimino is situated uppon the sea syde the contry very fair betwene the hills and yt : as well this citie as the most parte of the whole contry and cities in Romagna ar under the pope / which is bothe a gret contry and very ffruitfull / and also many faire cyties and plesauntly situated / from saignano the viii of september passinge (f. 47 v.) a fair cytie of the popes x myle of caled casena⁷ and so x myle farther to our bayte to a place calld

¹ The great obelisk from Heliopolis then stood on its ancient site. It was moved in 1586.

² Borghetto. There was no bridge at this date. The Ponte Felice was begun by Sixtus V. and finished by Urban VIII.

³ Sigillo ?

⁴ Garifana ?

⁵ "C'est une race de bons Princes et qui sont eimés de leurs sujets."—Montaigne, *op. cit.* p. 301.

⁶ ?

⁷ Cesena.

furli picciolo ¹ being not the popes / and after dyner xv myle farther to bed to a fayre cytie of the popes caled faenza passinge the same daye x myle from our bayt a for said anothe(r) cytie of the popes called furli : ² ffrom faenza the (f. 48) ix of September to bologna xxx myle passing a cytie of the popes caled Imola x myle from faenza and bayted xi myle farther at a place caled san pietro castello ³ / and so to bologna xviii myle all this contry from Rimano is the fayrest contry that we traveled in Italye / although this way by Romagna be more esye to travel (f. 48 v.) by resen of the good way then by toscane—yet are the hostries much worse both for lodging and victualls / and also dearer payment / from bolonya the 22 of september towards myllane passynge thorowe the fayrest and fruitfullest contrye of Italie / even from bolonya to myllane / the same nyght to a cytie of the duke of fferrara called modena xx myle (f. 49) from bolonia a faire cytee and stronge / ffrom thence the 23 of september to parma a fair cytie of the duke of parma 30 myle from modena / baytynge by the myd way at a cytie of ferrara caled regio ⁴ / ffrom thence the 32 (*sic*) of september to piacenza a faire cytie and a stronge of the duke of parma bayting in the myd way at a littell towne called burgo san donino castello ⁵ (f. 49 v.) from piacenza the 33 to myllane xl myle baytinge in the myd way at a cytie of (the) duke dome of myllane called Lodie / and passing the ryver of poo within ii myle of piacenza all thes cyties aforsaid from myllane to bolonia ar fair situated in a low contrye and fruitfull of corne grasse grappes and all other necessities and is a parte of Lombardie / (f. 50) myllane is a fayre grete cytye well fortyfied and sytuated in a faire contry havynge on the one syde a very stronge castell wherunto all the cytie is in subjection this cytie is very populus and full of artyficers of all sorts and much more then other cities that I have sene / the whole dukdome of myllane is under king phillip / from thence the firste of october xxv myles to bed to a cytie of the same duk dome called como (f. 50 v.) not faire standinge at the fotte of the mountaines and farthest cytie towards zwechary / in this contry of lombardie is in-defferent good vitaille for travaillers the people notwithstanding very subtill and craftie gyven as the rest of Italians to deceive strangers ffrom Como the 2 of October to Lugano xxi myles Italian / entringe the mountayns at Como and entrynge the zwychers domynion viii myles from

¹ Forlimpopoli.² Forli.³ S. Pietro.⁴ Reggio.⁵ Borgo S. Donino.

(f. 51) Como / takinge bote at a Lago called co de lago ¹ in the mydd way betwen como and lugano / from lugano the 3 of October to berlinzona² xvi myle Lugano a market towne of the zwichers berlinzona is a littell towne of theirs also not withstandinge the people speake Italian for the most parte to mounte godard from berlinzona the 4 of october to a borgo caled Rolo ³ at the fote of monte san godard vi leags from (f. 51 v.) berlinzona / after we were passed como aforsayde our way laye amongest mountaines mervelous straite in dyvers places and wonderfully to behold for that they ar made for most parte with mens hands forced with stones uppon the sydes of the mountaynes and also hewed oute of the gret rocks in many places so that in many places ii horses may not well mete without daunger / very stony : from Rolo the 5 of october (f. 52) to a littell towne caled torffo ⁴ att the fote of the said mounte san godard on the other syde 7 leages from Rolo / this mountaine is from the fote to the topp 2 leages and very stepe the way narow stony and dangerous snow lyenge uppon the mountaine both winter and somer / uppon the top of this hil is an osterye / al our way unto this montaine the hills ar very full off (f. 52 v.) chestnutt tres and very abundante of chestnuts / but this montaine bereth nothinge but snow and stones / we ffound extrem cold uppon this hill / we descended this hill still untill we came to a littell towne called olsera ⁵ from there rode an enlyshe myle plaine ground and descended agen / from olsera aboute ii enlyshe myles is a brydge which is calld ponte inferno ⁶ / (f. 53) it standeth in a straite betwene the mountaines the beginynnge of the ryver of rehin cometh from mount gadard and at this brydge hath suche a fale amonge the huge stones that is mervelous / aboute xvi enlysh myle from torfo we toke bote and passed the lake of lucerna the 6 of october and so came to lucerna which is vii leages by water (f. 53 v.) lucerna is a pretie toune of the zwichers standing on the lago wheroute runneth the ryver of the rehyne / ffrom thence we to horses the 8 of october and came to basylea the 10 of (of) october the waye in dyfferent / the contry more lyke unto the woodland contry in England then any other that I (f. 54) (have) sene their vilages some what lyke also / ffrom lucerna to basill 9 leages basilea is a fair cytie of the zwichers uppon the ryver of rehine / ther is buried Erasmus Roter-

¹ Capolago.² Bellinzona.³ Airolo.⁴ Altorf?⁵ ?⁶ Teufel's Brücke. Cf. Sloane MS. 682, f. 8 v. (an anonymous account of 1610).

damus / then we toke bote the 11 of october to strosborogh¹ 14 leages / strosborgo is a very fair grete cytie imperiall and stronge by reson of the ryver / for they may (f. 54 v.) let water ii myle aboute the toune / there is a brydge mad ffrom the toune ii italian myles which may be drawne in dyvers places at their plesure / also a notoryous steple builded passinge curious / ffrom strosborough the 12 of october and toke bote and so came to ments² the xvi of october 27 leages from (f. 55) strosborogh: all the contry uppon the ryver sydes semeth to be fruitfull none the lesse this kynd of travaill is not very plesaunt but rather very paynfull bothe by reson of colde / and also because we wer forced to lodg in most places in villages and blynd osteries wher we found ill chere and worse lodginge/

¹ Strassburg.

² Mainz.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

VOL. VII. No. 4.

FORGOTTEN FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT
WALL PAINTINGS IN ROME.

BY MRS. ARTHUR STRONG, D.LITT., LL.D.

I.—THE PALATINE.

STUDENTS of ancient painting are apt to bestow exclusive attention upon the long series of pictures in the Museum of Naples recovered from Pompeii and Herculaneum, and to forget the many and excellent specimens of the art still extant in Rome. Yet these often surpass in quality anything found in the buried Campanian cities, since it is only natural that painters of ability and talent should have sought for work in the capital rather than in Pompeii and other holiday resorts. The neglect of the paintings discovered in Rome is of comparatively recent date. In the seventeenth century Pietro Santi Bartoli (1635-1700) had inaugurated a systematic series of publications of the figured monuments of Rome, including paintings engraved after his own drawings. A host of draughtsmen and engravers followed in his steps, and down to the middle of the nineteenth century appeared volume after volume of illustrations of Roman paintings, admirably calculated to please the cultivated traveller and amateur, but as a rule totally wanting in accuracy. These drawings and engravings were accepted as true copies,

but imagination and invention had a leading share in their production. An amusing instance of inaccuracy is afforded by the drawings often published of a picture from the Golden House of Nero, which purports to represent Coriolanus and his mother, but which Dr. Weege has recently shown to be in reality the farewell of Hector and Andromache who holds the child Astyanax. The same carelessness of interpretation which turned the youthful Andromache into an aged matron and the tiny hands of her babe, stretched out to its father, into the hands of the matron, is likewise responsible for turning the Paris and Helen, with Aphrodite and Eros between them, of another picture into two old women (Paris and Helen) with two children (Eros and Aphrodite).¹ Since the introduction of modern processes based on photography, little has been done towards adequate representation of the numerous paintings in Rome, many of which have now vanished altogether. Lately a welcome revival of interest in the subject has been initiated in three remarkable publications. The first is the sumptuous volume of Dr. B. Nogara,² containing admirable reproductions of the Aldobrandini Marriage and of the Esquiline frescoes in the Library of the Vatican. The second is the monograph by the distinguished Russian archaeologist Professor M. Rostowzew on Hellenistic-Roman landscapes containing architectural features.³ Rostowzew does full justice to the excellent examples of this class of pictures which exist at Rome in the so-called house of Livia on the Palatine and elsewhere. Thirdly, Dr. F. Weege recently embodied in an important monograph printed in the German Archaeological Jahrbuch, the results of the researches which he has been conducting for some years in Nero's Golden House.⁴ The splendid coloured plates which accompany Dr. Weege's discussion reveal the height of perfection attained by

¹ See p. 215 ff. and Figs. 63 to 70 of the monograph cited in n. 4. The original drawing of the 'Coriolanus' is often attributed to no less a draughtsman than Annibale Carracci (see Weege, *loc. cit.*), but accurate copying is a modern acquirement, influenced by photography. Many of these old engravings, like the drawings upon which they are based, have a beauty of their own, but they are of little value for the style of the originals.

² Bartolomeo Nogara: *Le Nozze Aldobrandine; i paesaggi con scena dell' Odissea ed altre pitture murali antiche conservate nella biblioteca Vaticana e nei Musei Pontifici*, Milan, 1907.

³ M. Rostowzew: 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architektur-Landschaft' in *Röm. Myth.* 1911, pp. 1-186, and Plates I. to XI.

⁴ Fr. Weege: 'das Goldene Haus Des Nero' in *Jahrbuch des Archäol. Instituts*, 1913, pp. 127-244; Plates 4-22 (many in colour), and *Denkmäler*, 1913, Plates 13-18 (coloured) with text. The coloured reproductions are after water-colours by the Roman artist Cartocci.

decorative painting in the age of Nero. When the Golden House is entirely cleared out, as the Italian Government promises it shall be, it should become once more, as in the days of Raphael, a school for artists. Meanwhile, much remains to be done elsewhere. It seems strange that the wall paintings of the House of Livia should never, in recent years, have been made the subject of a separate publication; or that the stuccoed ceilings and wall paintings from the Roman house near the Farnesina should not be made known in a manner commensurate with their beauty and importance.¹ The unique series of frescoes in the Museo delle Terme, from a columbarium of the late Republican or early Augustan date on the Esquiline representing battles and other episodes from the legendary history of Rome, has never yet been adequately published.² The delicate figures and scrolls that adorn the interior of the pyramidal Tomb of Cestius by the Porta San Paolo are all but unknown, and no one since Bartoli has attempted to publish in its entirety the rich sepulchral imagery of the Tomb of the Nasoni, much of which remains *in situ*, while six pieces including the fine Rape of Proserpina found their way to the British Museum as far back as 1883.³ Stranger still is it that the stuccoes and frescoes of the famous tomb of the Via Latina, which bear witness to the persistent excellence of Græco-Roman painting as late as the age of the Antonines, should still be unrecorded save for the old line engravings in the *Monumenti dell' Istituto* for 1860 (vi.) and for a few photographs in the trade.⁴ As a fact, the only tomb on Roman soil adequately published of late years is the columbarium of Pomponius Hylas, near the Via Latina, a plan of which, together with coloured plates of the wall paintings, appeared in volume v. of these

¹ They were fully published by Lessing and Man, *Wand und Deckenschmuck eines römischen Hauses aus der Zeit des Augustus*, 1891.

² They were published by E. Brizio, *Pitture e sepolcri scoperti sull' Esquilino*, with poor plates. A careful and long description in Helbig's *Führer*, 3rd ed., 1913, Nos. 1451-1454 (Fr. Weege). So mutilated are the paintings that photography alone is inadequate. Nothing but carefully executed aquarels reproduced in colour can place on record these precious relics, which are fast vanishing.

³ These six paintings from the Tomb of the Nasoni were purchased in 1883 from the late George Richmond, R.A. One could wish that some English scholar had been tempted to publish them. As it is I understand that Dr. Rodenwaldt has had them photographed in view of a publication, which will likewise include what paintings still remain in the tomb itself.

⁴ The details from these decorations given in the monograph by the Russian architect Ronscewski (*Gewölbeschmuck im Altertum*), show the importance of these Latin tombs for artists and architects.

Papers.¹ It is to be hoped that scholars and artists alike may soon awaken to the importance of ancient painting in Rome as well as to that of the grand series of painted architectural terracottas from the early temples of Rome and of Latium, to which I am drawing attention elsewhere.² All these are works of art worthy to engage the attention of accomplished critics and students of art. There are signs that the terracottas are likely to be attended to at last, but no greater benefit could be conferred upon the historical study of art than a systematic publication by means of coloured plates of the wall paintings.

The present paper is only a first and very modest contribution towards the desired end. Besides the more extensive and more complete series of wall pictures which I have just alluded to, there are in Rome and its immediate vicinity a number of fragmentary and isolated paintings which need publication, though hitherto few of them have ever been described or even noted. Yet fragmentary though they be, they often form the clue to what was once an important wall or ceiling decoration. For some time past Dr. Ashby and myself, with various members of the British School, have devoted much attention to these neglected fragments with a view to placing them on record. I specially remember the diligence with which Miss Almond, one of our students, crept into every hole of the Palatine—and there are many!—in her search for possible traces of wall paintings. And since the Palatine is ever in the forefront of archaeological interest, it seems meet to devote this first article to certain forgotten paintings still extant in this region.

Fortunately for our enterprise, a former student of the school, Mr. F. G. Newton, whose architectural drawings and plans have enriched more than one volume of our *Papers* and who executed the drawings of the columbarium of Pomponius Hylas referred to above, spent some weeks in Rome in the summer of 1913, when at Dr. Ashby's suggestion and mine he was commissioned to make water colour copies of the more important among these Palatine fragments; permission for the work being granted with his usual courteous liberality by Commendatore Boni, to whom we beg to offer here our united thanks.

¹ *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. v. (1910), pp. 464-471 (T. Ashby); Plates 37-44 (F. C. Newton); the short description of the paintings on p. 470, notes 2 on p. 468, and 1, 2, 3 on p. 469 were contributed by me.

² In an article shortly to be published in the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

The paintings recently copied by Mr. Newton belong to the four following sites:—

- I. A loggia which opens on to the extensive gallery known as the 'Bridge of Caligula.'
- II. A chamber immediately to the south-east of the so-called 'Stadium' of the Palatine.
- III. A room in a complex of chambers, buried under the garden near or under the site of the baths of the Palace of Hadrian and Septimius Severus.
- IV. A house below the so-called Paedagogium and the south slope of the Palatine, to which access is now to be had from the Via de' Cerchi. (*Notizie degli Scavi*, 1891, pp. 44-48 with illustrations; *Röm. Mitth.* 1893, pp. 289-292.)

All these paintings, with the exception of IV., which were somewhat inadequately reproduced at the time of their discovery, are unpublished, and so far as I can make out practically unknown. The possibility of reproducing Mr. Newton's drawings in colour is due to the generosity of Mr. Robert Mond. In the present paper I shall deal only with the first three sets of paintings. The coloured reproductions enable me to dispense with any detailed discussion of the colours employed.

I. The chamber or loggia with the paintings reproduced on Plates XXVI. (I.A.), XXVII. (I.B.) is shown both in plan and in section on the drawing by Mr. Newton reproduced on Plate XXV. It opens on to the long balcony or gallery which long went by the name of the 'Bridge of Caligula' and belongs to a complex of chambers once thought part of the *Domus Tiberiana* or the *Domus Gaiana*, but now shown to date from the reconstruction of this part of the Palatine under Domitian.¹ The two pictures

¹ For these chambers, which rise in two stories to the south of the Clivus Victoriae, and for the Flavian date of the brickstamps, see Jordan-Huelsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom.*, p. 76 ff.; for the traces of decorations in the lower chambers *ib.* p. 78, n. 95. For the stuccoes on the soffits of the ground floor chambers and at the side of the 'bridge' 'all once covered with gold and coloured decoration,' see J. H. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, 1892, p. 192; and for the 'coloured stucco, and relief paintings on the flat' of the first floor—presumably our loggia—*ib.* p. 194; cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 1897, p. 153; O. Marucchi, *Le Forum romain et le Palatin*, 1902, p. 378, describes our loggia and its paintings as follows: 'une loggia étroite et longue, supportée par d'élégants arceaux et ornée de peintures et de reliefs en stuc, qui représentent des figures très jolies de femmes et de génies.' Marucchi and others still consider these chambers to have

decorate the spaces above the openings which lead into the adjoining chambers on east and west. The subject of both is a priestess and her attendant; the picture to the right as we face towards the Clivus Victoriae shows the priestess placing or steadying a liknon-shaped basket full of fruits on the head of an attendant represented as of diminutive size; to the right of the attendant, a bare tree trunk is visible (Pl. XXVI.). On the opposite side a priestess, wearing an ample mantle over her tunic or chiton, holds a mask in her right hand; in the space below on the left, an attendant as diminutive as the one in the first picture stretches forward her hands towards the priestess (Pl. XXVII.). This scene appears to take place in a closed room. Both groups as shown by liknon and mask are borrowed from current Dionysiac motives. The pictures are framed in a niche or aedicula carried out in stucco, tastefully picked out in colour. To either side of this frame are two narrower panels, the lower of which were in each case decorated with figures likewise in stucco. Of these, only the mutilated figure of an Eros remains to the right of the group with the liknon. The pictures of the upper panels, which on either side of the group with the mask are still fairly well preserved, fall within the class of sea-scapes with villas and other architectural details studied by Rostowzew in the monograph mentioned above. The picture above the putto on the opposite side seems to represent an island with a pillar and statue on a low base. These land- and sea-scapes were popular in the fourth style of Pompeian paintings, corresponding roughly with the date of Nero, and lasted to a comparatively late period. From what has been

been 'part of the decoration of the façade of the Palace of Tiberius, which ended here and was later marked by the constructions of Caligula.' Lanciani on the other hand (*loc. cit.*) once considered these rooms as part of Caligula's Palace, and to have been built round an open court afterwards cut through by the Clivus Victoriae. A careful examination of these constructions by Dr. Ashby, with the help of Dr. Esther Van Deman, has shown that the façade of the house which may be attributed, approximately at least, to the time of Tiberius, ends at a line of brickwork immediately back of the chambers with which we are here concerned. These chambers are clearly of Flavian, and probably of Domitianic, date. The long balcony or gallery (the 'Bridge of Caligula') which ran along the front of the pillars of the first story, was open on the side towards the Nova Via and the Forum, but it was protected by a covered or hooded projection of the second story. This projection, which has been clearly made out by Dr. Ashby, is not indicated in Mr. Newton's plan. Its object was to afford shelter to those on the balcony, and also to protect the stuccoes of the façade. The whole of the vast substructures in front of this Domitianic building are of the period of Hadrian.

Dr. Ashby informs me that Dr. Hülsen, in a lecture delivered in December, 1897, and unpublished, was the first to detect the true façade of the house which is either the *Domus Tiberiana*, or a house of approximately that date.

said of the date of the room, the present paintings cannot well be earlier than Flavian and are probably Domitianic. I may note here that the adjoining chamber to the east of our loggia must once have been entirely covered with paintings which have now become undecipherable.¹

II. The low vaulted chamber to which the painting on Plate XXVIII. belongs appears to have been cleared of rubbish only lately. The complicated group of rooms east of the so-called Stadium is referred to in various descriptions of the Palatine, but I can find no mention of this particular chamber earlier than Marucchi's.² The chamber is immediately north of the arcaded path (marked *t—t* in Jordan-Huelsen's plan) that leads from the southern end of the Stadium towards the Septizonium. The painting now published is at the north-east end within a recess cut into the wall. The subject represents a *Lararium*, or chapel containing the image of a Lar.³ The figure stands on a low columnar plinth within a high rectangular chapel or aedicula in front of which hangs a festal garland tied with sashes to the pillars of the shrine and looped up to either side. The colouring is in a monochromatic scale of browns on a yellow background. The figure which I take to be a Lar has been described by Marucchi simply as a genius with a cornucopiae, but the graceful dancing attitude, the wreathed head and the action of the hands are traits familiar to the Lares. Here, as generally on wall paintings, a stream of wine flows from the rhyton held in the raised right hand into the cup held in the left, though the exact motive has been obliterated and rendered indistinct by time and is likewise not clear on Mr. Newton's drawing. The figure is doubtless intended for the *lar familiaris* of the inhabitant of that particular chamber. There are abundant examples at Pompeii of similar *lararia* from every kind of apartment. They contain

¹ Dr. Ashby considers that the whole series of these chambers was so painted.

² *Le Forum romain et le Palatin*, 1902, p. 333. 'Si en revenant on traverse la grande rue qui allait vers le Septizone, on voit vis-à-vis 5 chambres déblayées récemment, basses et voûtées, avec quelques traces de peintures. Dans la 1^{ère} vers le Stade, dans une niche, il y a la figure d'un génie avec le cornucopia.' The chamber was probably cleared of rubbish during the operations of the year 1902 mentioned in Jordan-Huelsen, p. 99, n. 132, cf. also Deglane, 'Le Stade du Palatin' in *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, 1889, p. 224, where the adjacent larger chamber with coffered ceiling is mentioned.

³ For *Lares* and *Lararium* see G. Wissowa's article '*Lares*,' in Roscher's *Lexikon*, ii. pp. 1867-1897, to which should be added A. de Marchi's exhaustive treatment in *Culto Privato di Roma Antica* (1896); i.p.27ff; and J. A. Hild's article '*Lares*' in *Daremberg and Saglio* (1904); Wissowa *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 168 f.

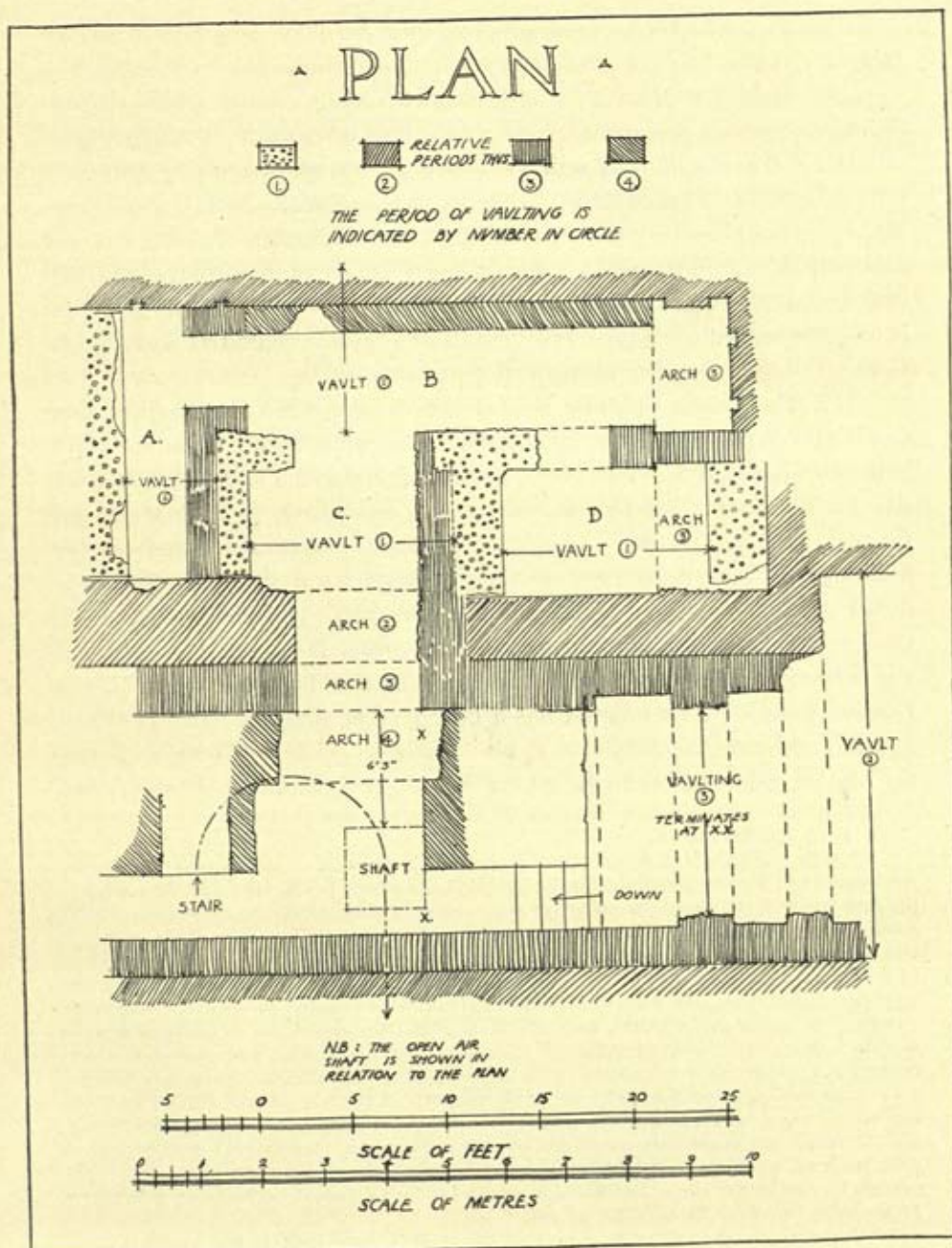


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF BUILDINGS UNDER PALACE OF SEVERUS ON PALATINE.

sometimes one, sometimes two or more images. The usage of a private *lararium*, as in the present instance, may be compared to the Roman Catholic custom of placing little shrines with images of the saints in bedrooms and other private apartments.¹ The brickwork of all this part adjoining the Stadium is still Domitianic, but unfortunately this fact only affords us an upper limit of time for the date of the little wall picture, since the actual wall recess within which the *Lararium* is painted is certainly of later date than the chamber itself, being cut through the low wall into the vault regardless of the architecture. For the rest the painting is of quite an ordinary type and might have been executed almost at any time up to the second or even third century.

III. The ceiling painting reproduced on Plate XXIX. is so far as I can discover nowhere mentioned. The room with barrel vault to which it belongs is marked AA on Fig. 1, which reproduces a sketch plan of the site kindly drawn for this paper by Mr. Bradshaw, a student of our Faculty of Architecture. The room belongs to a confused network of buildings of very different dates, which writers on the Palatine have noted without attempting to disentangle the plan or period.² At present the only entrance to these underground ruins is through a hole to the left of a side walk leading north from the *Thermae* towards San Bonaventura.³ This room A has a barrel vault which at once puts one in mind of Neronian architecture, an impression confirmed by the character of the ceiling decoration, which is clearly influenced by the sepul-

¹ A. de Marchi, *loc. cit.*

² Mr. Bradshaw's plan reveals four periods of brickwork. An examination by Dr. Ashby and Dr. E. Van Deman shows on the evidence of the bricks that the brickwork of the first period in A, where our paintings are, belongs approximately to the time of Nero, a satisfactory corroboration of what the paintings themselves tell us from their style. It will be seen from the different hatchings on the plans that there are at least four periods of brickwork to be made out here. Some is Domitianic, and the later brickwork appears to be of two different periods, both subsequent in Dr. E. Van Deman's judgment to Septimius Severus. It seems evident that, since the style of the decoration and of the brickwork of A alike point to the period of Nero, we have here the remains of a house of the first century A.D., which we may compare with the remains of Julio-Claudian mansions recently discovered by Commendatore Boni under the peristyle of the large *domus Flavia*, and that this house was afterwards utilised, perhaps as early as Domitian, for the foundations of the *Thermae* and other vast constructions which from the Flavian period to Septimius Severus were built and repeatedly altered and enlarged on this part of the hill. The confused ruins under these *Thermae* are referred to by Deglane, 'Le Stade du Palatin,' in *Mélanges de l'École de Rome*, 1888, p. 228.

³ The real entrance through a gate on the north is now kept locked and is said to be unsafe.

chral paintings of the period and easily falls within the class happily designated by Dr. Ashby as the columbarium style.¹ The vault is decorated lengthways by a design that falls into three main divisions: a broad central and two lateral bands each composed of a series of different sized and isolated rectangular panels. The central design, so far as we can see at present, is composed of two longer panels, the space between which is occupied by eight smaller panels, of which those nearest to the long rectangles are again subdivided into two. The big panels are framed by a leafy border within which winged Genii stand on the shorter and peacocks on the longer sides. The smaller lateral panels are framed by an egg and dart pattern. The smaller panels, whether at the centre or the sides, seem to have contained small pastoral scenes. In the one we see a tree, in another two cows, in a third two goats, recalling a class of subject familiar among the stuccoes and paintings of the house from the Farnesina and elsewhere. The middle of the long panel on the left was decorated on one side by a conventional tree, on the other by a figure, possibly a Genius, whose head and shoulders are still visible. This design was doubtless repeated in the panel of the opposite side. Upon this first and principal design a second, consisting of broad intercrossing bands coloured brown, was superimposed, with the object it would seem of producing the illusion of a broad trellis through the interstices of which the spectator looks at the decoration of the actual vault. Conventional floral patterns run along these broad bands, and the squares formed at the points of intersection are painted in a darker colour and enlivened by what appear to be birds and fish.

In the next paper I shall deal with the large series of life-size figures from the house in the Via de' Cerchi and with further Palatine fragments, including certain vault paintings in the smaller palace of Domitian.

¹ Dr. Ashby's theory being still unpublished, he kindly contributes the following brief note in illustration of his meaning: "A comparison between the paintings of Pomponius Hylas which belong to the Time of Tiberius (cf. the columbarium in the Via Appia described by Fornari in *Studi Romani*, 1913 (i.), p. 355 ff. and those of the Golden House, seem to show that the smallness of these sepulchral paintings which was well enough adapted for the decoration of little chambers with their tiny niches, was imitated by the artists of the time of Nero in the decoration of the lofty rooms of which they were fond, where however, it was most unsuitable. Some of the details of the decoration of the 'Coriolanus' room, which is at least 8 metres high, while it is only 6 long and 5.3, wide can hardly have been visible from the floor; and the same would have been the case with the paintings we are now considering.—T.A."

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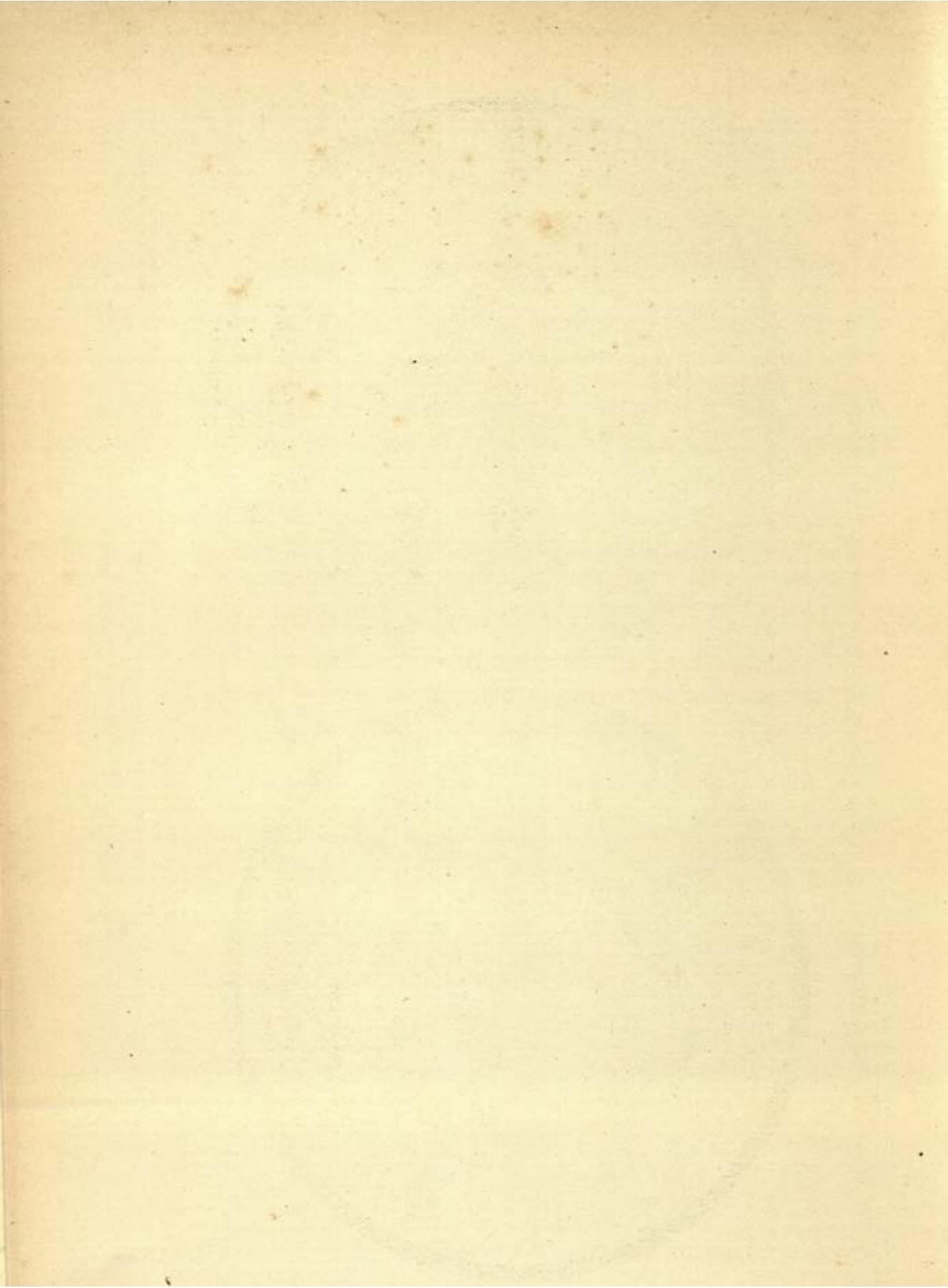


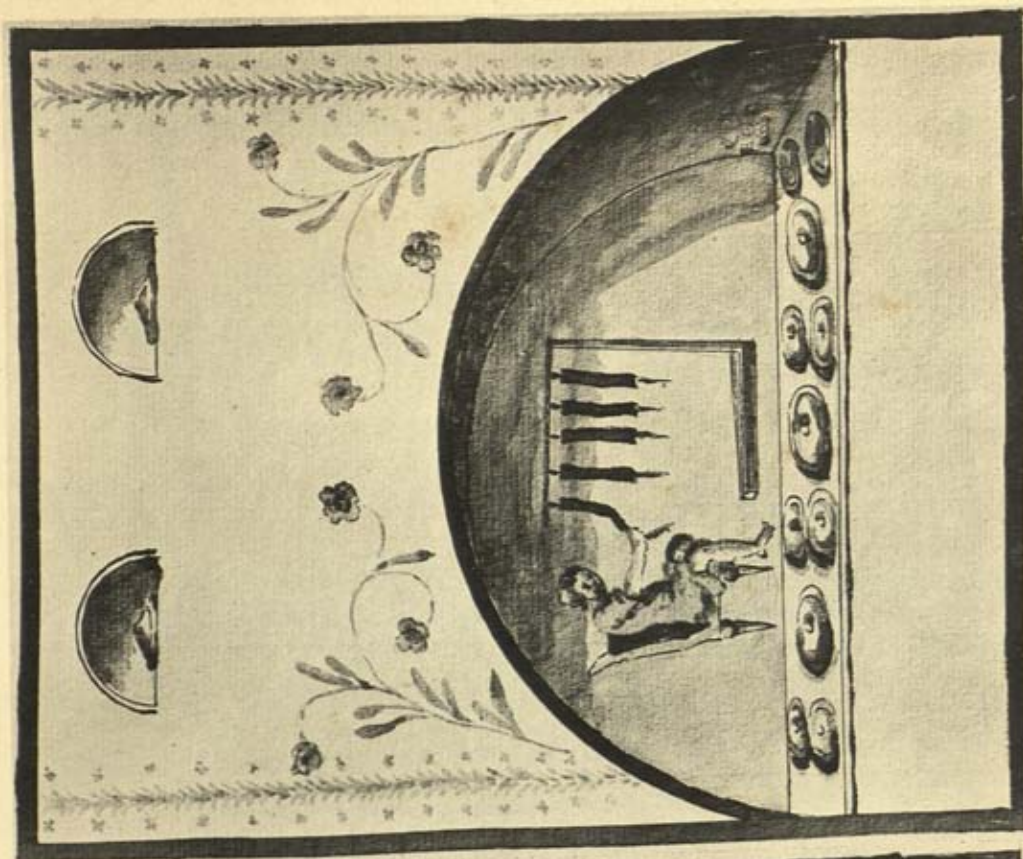
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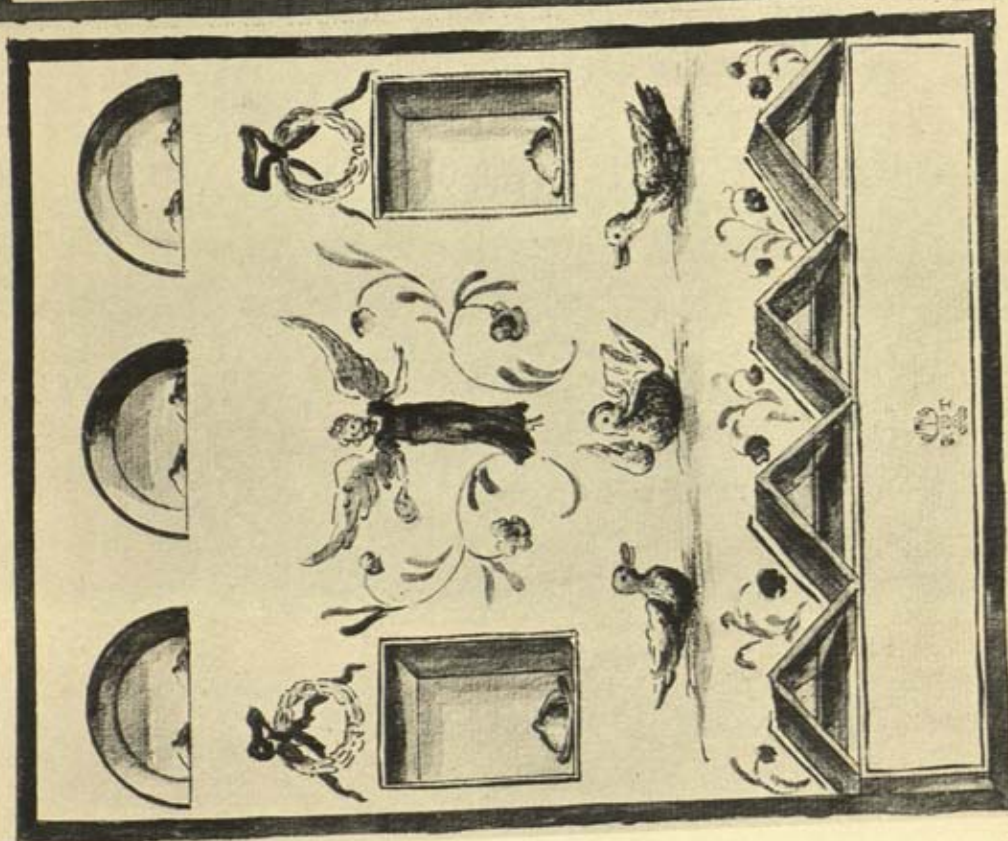
TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)



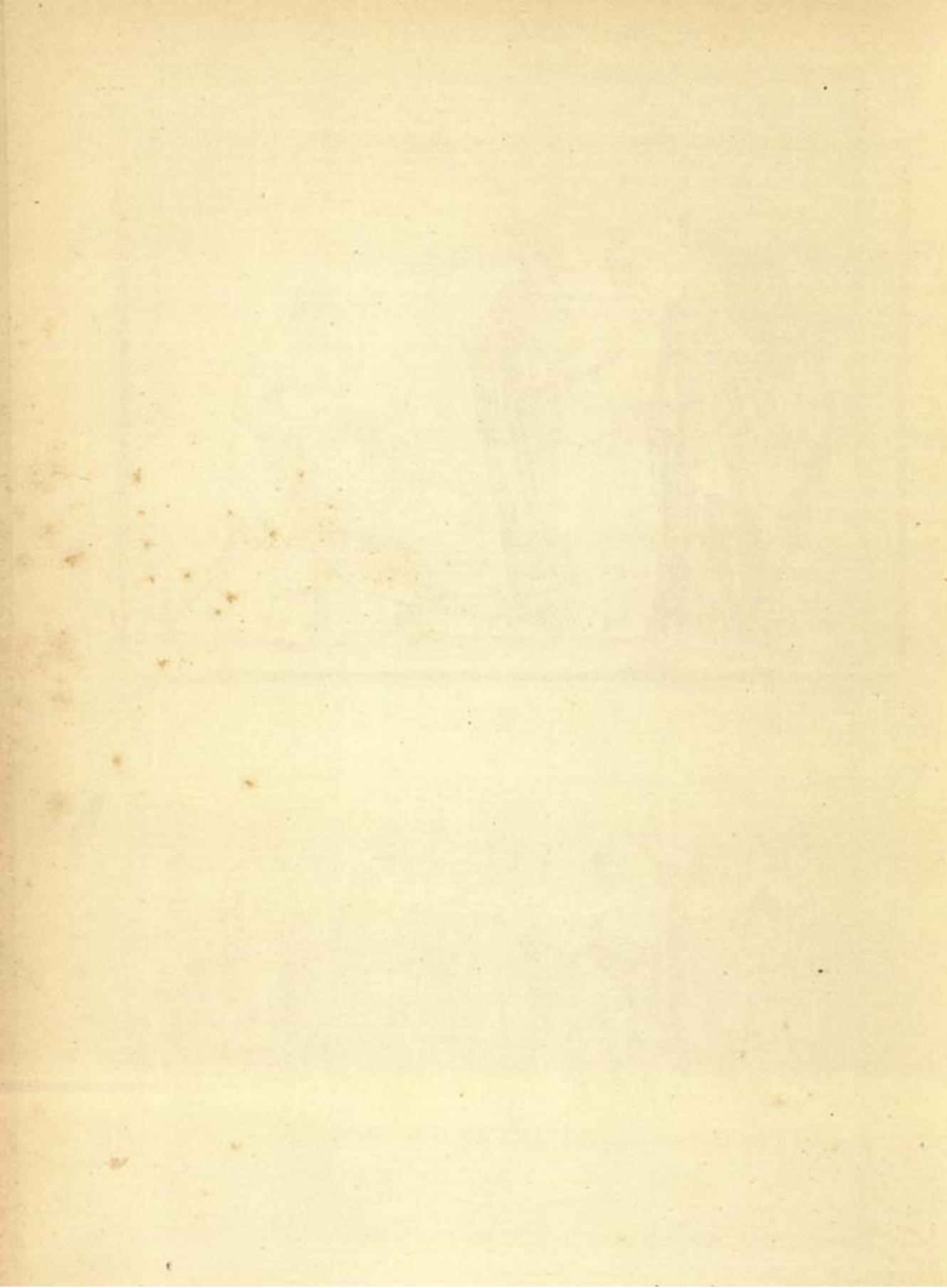


L. 40

TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)



L. 39





I. 68



I. 69



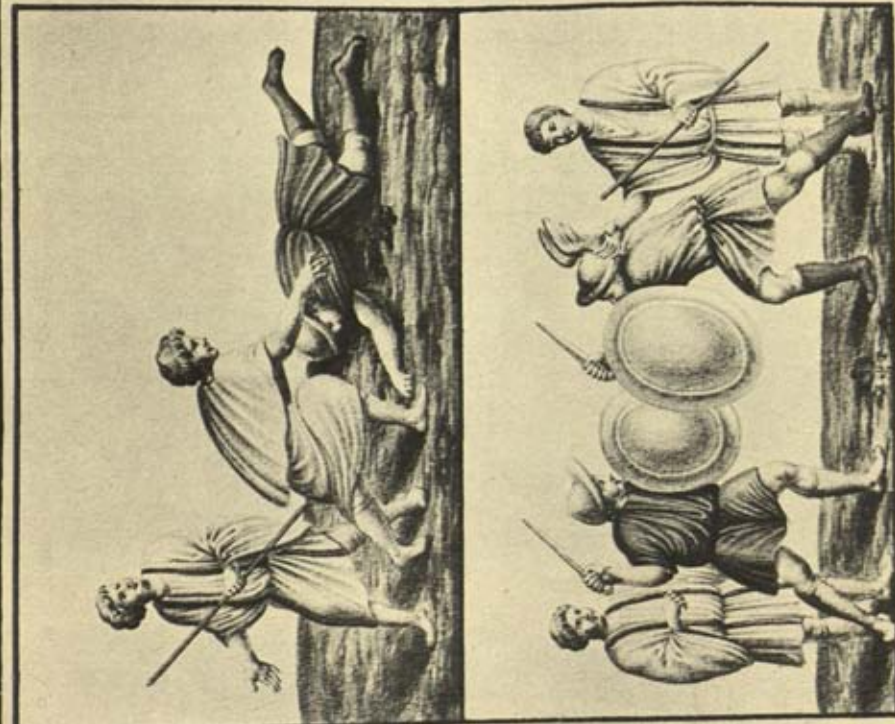
II. 3



II. 18



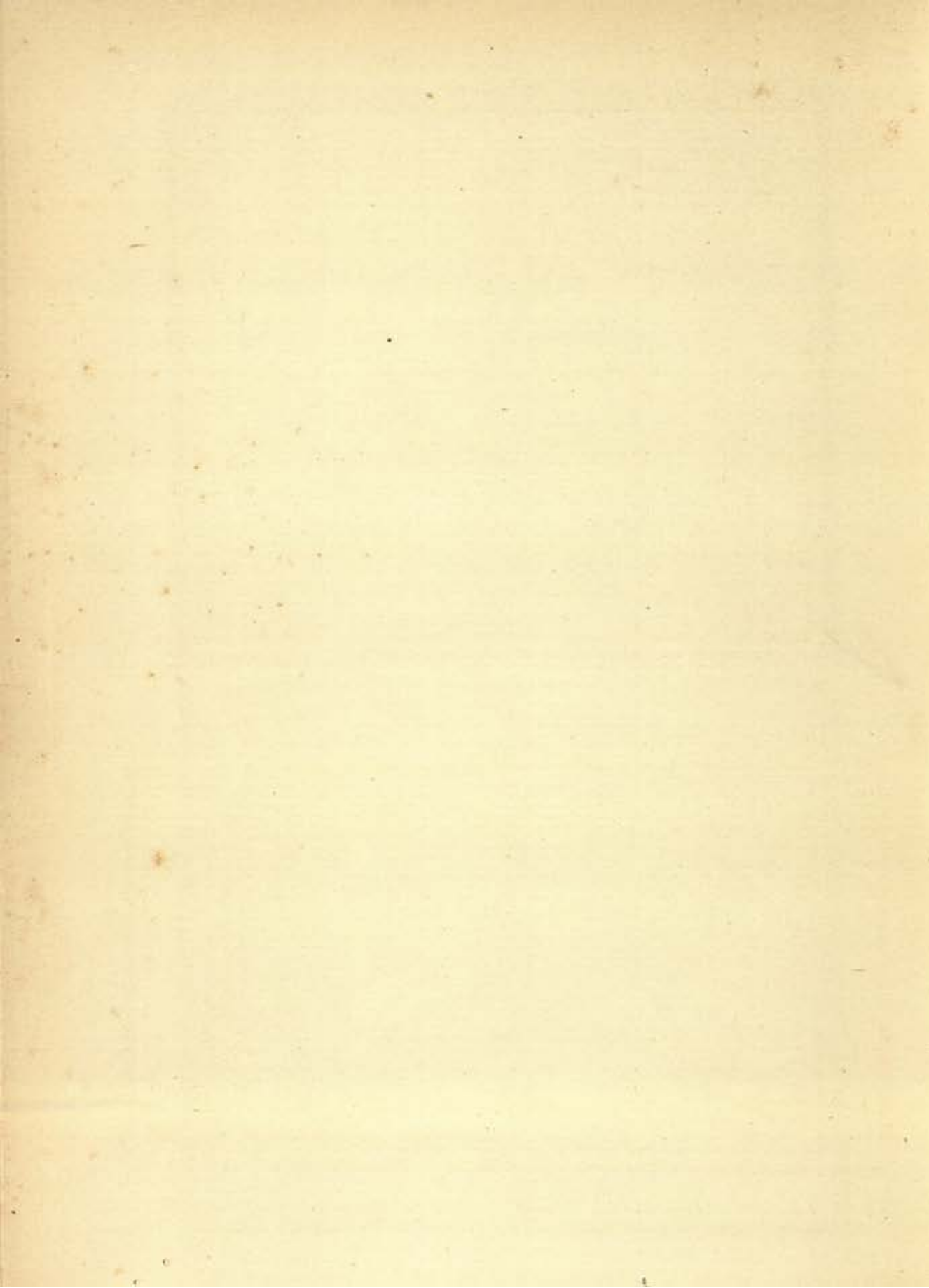
TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)



PL. 14



PL. 15

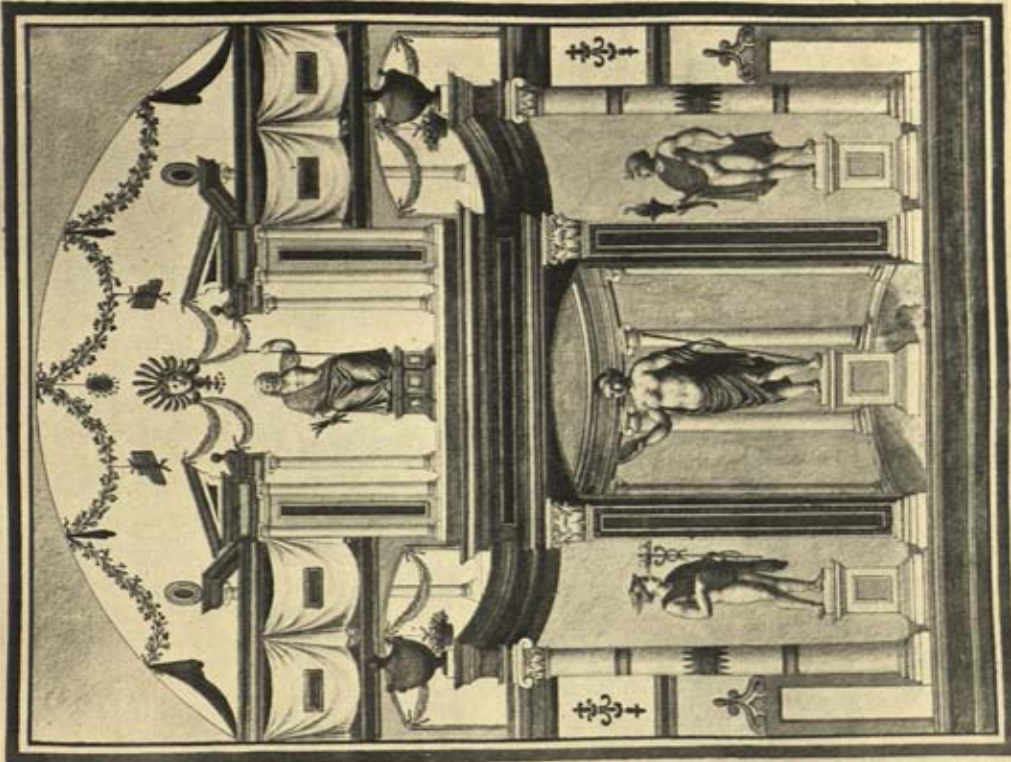




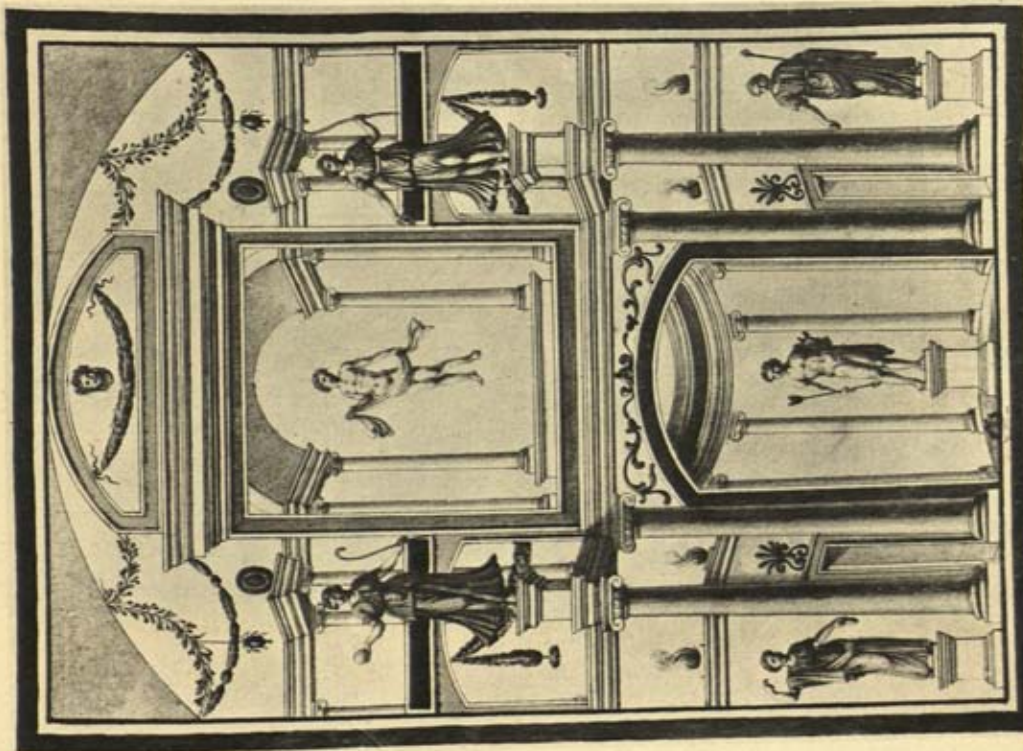
II. 29



II. 23

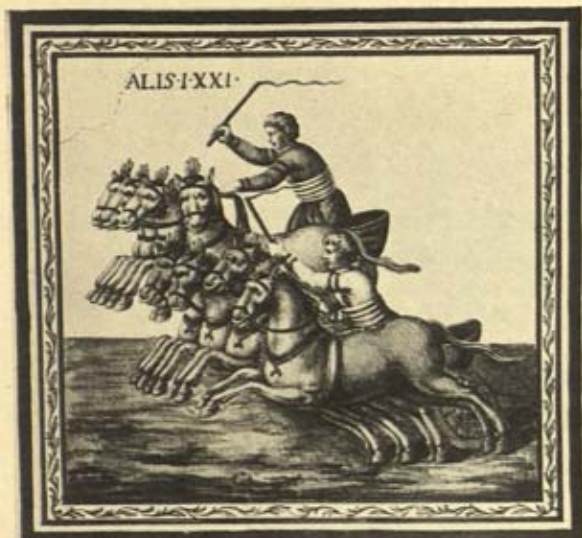


II. 49



II. 27

TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)



II. 37

III



II. 38

IV



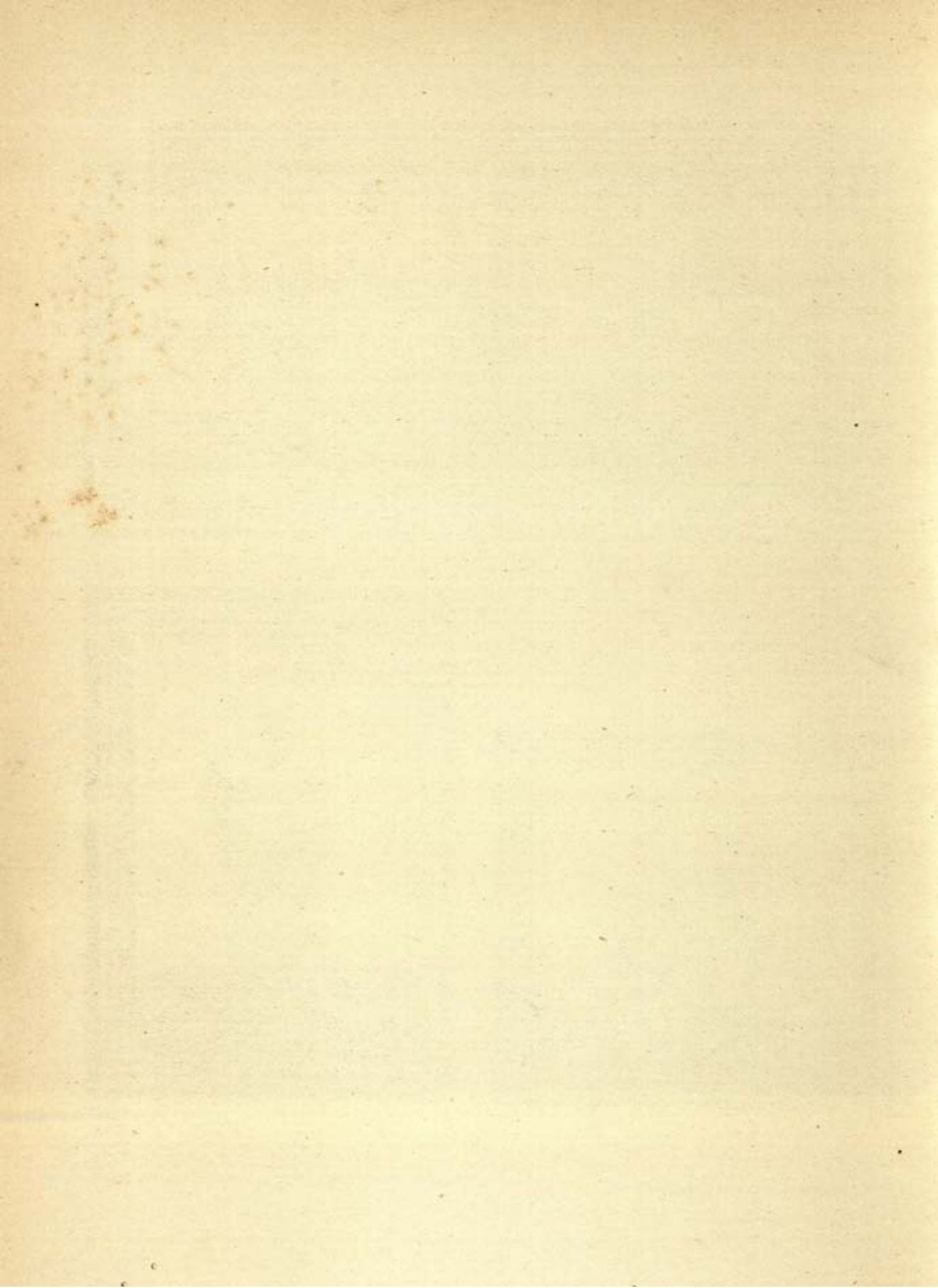
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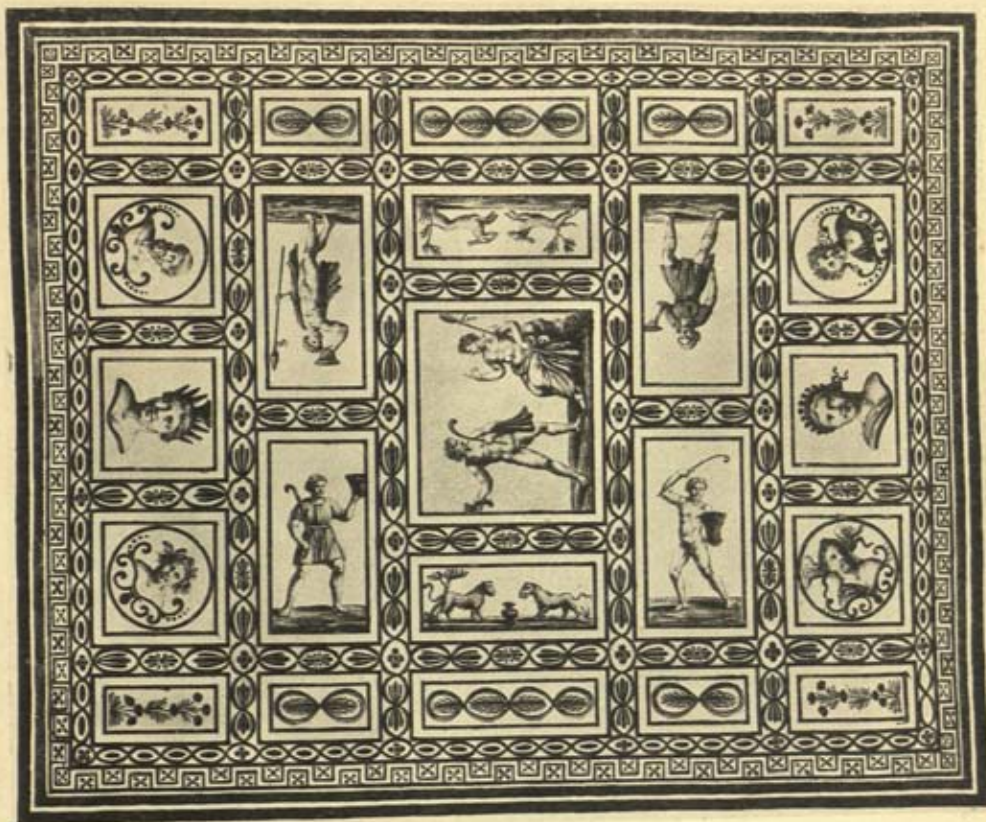
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II. 40

VI

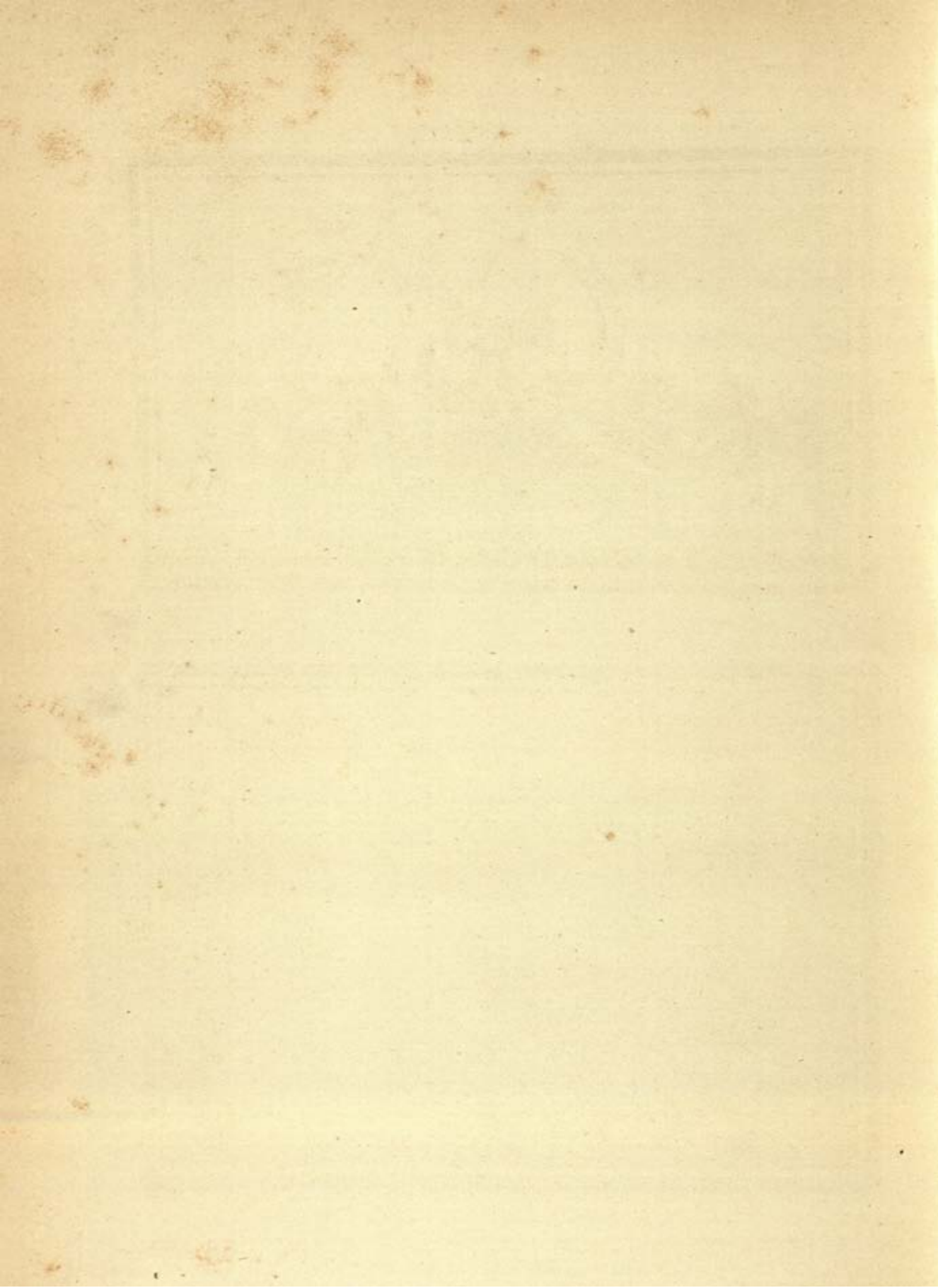




II. 42



II. 41





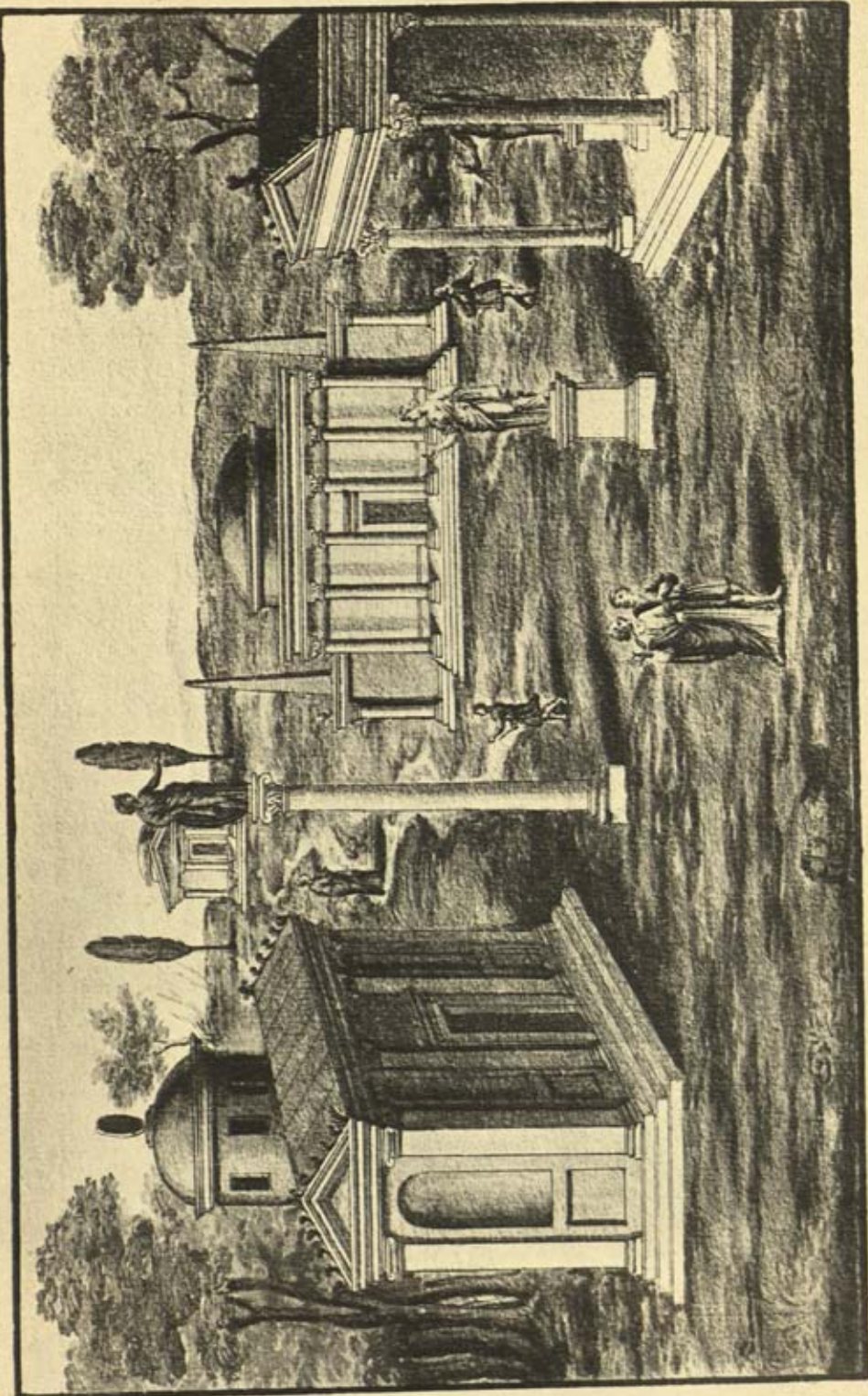
II. 62

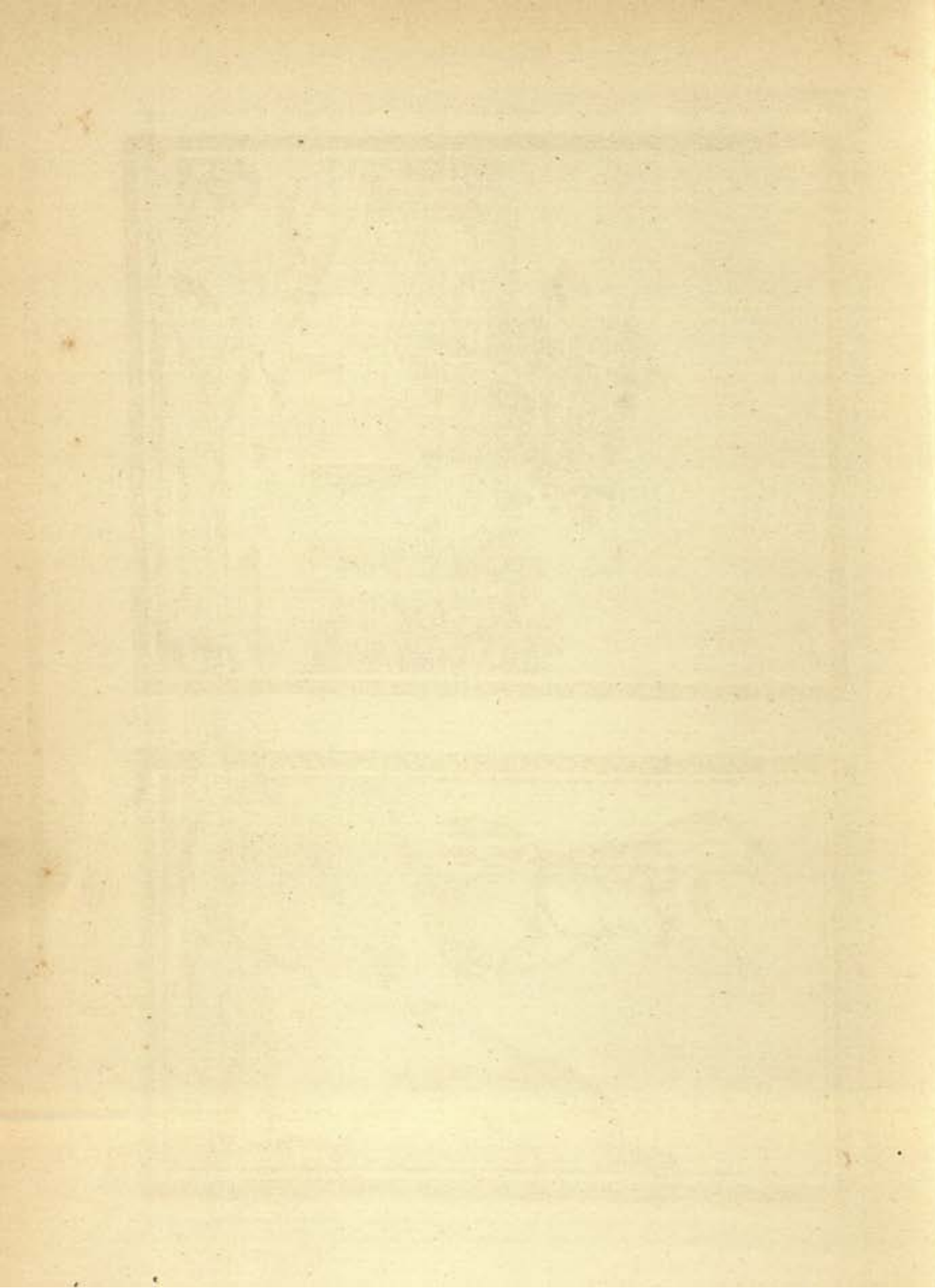


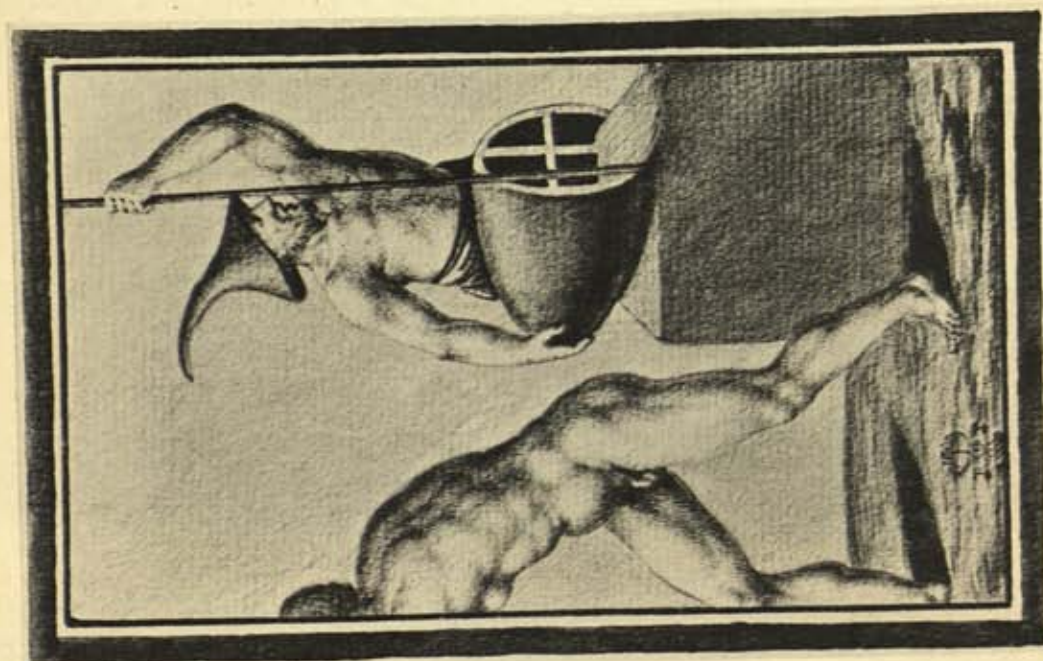
II. 69

V

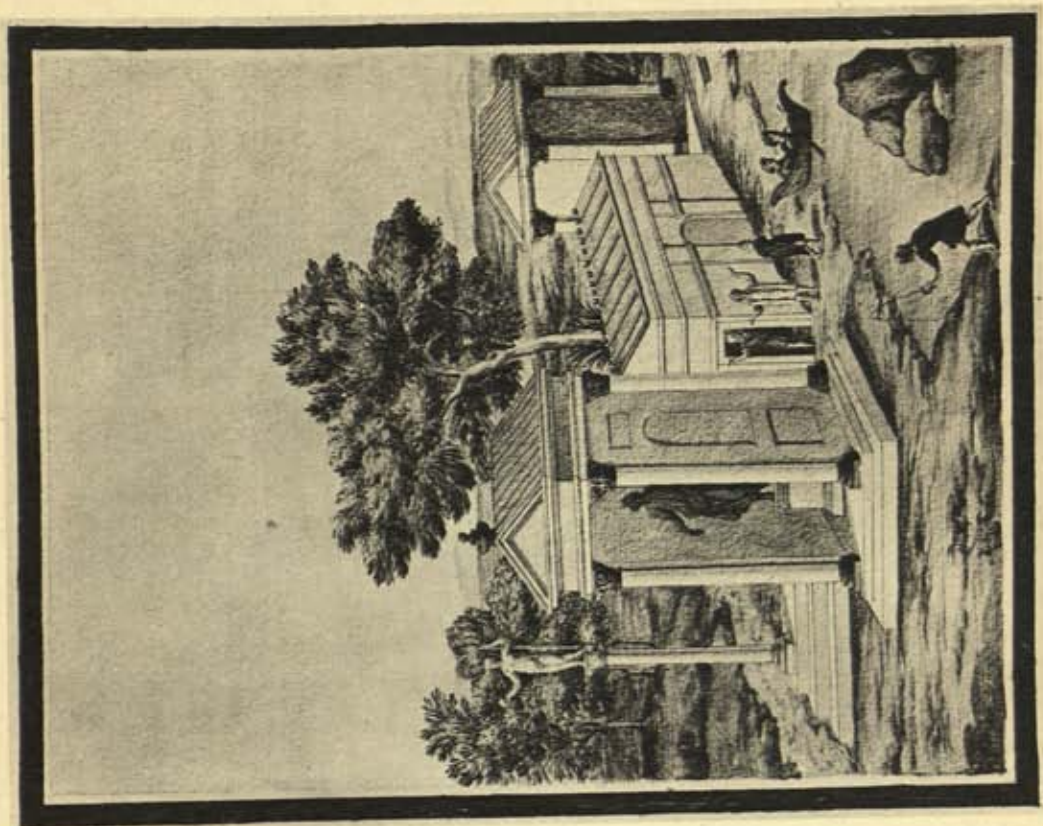
TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)







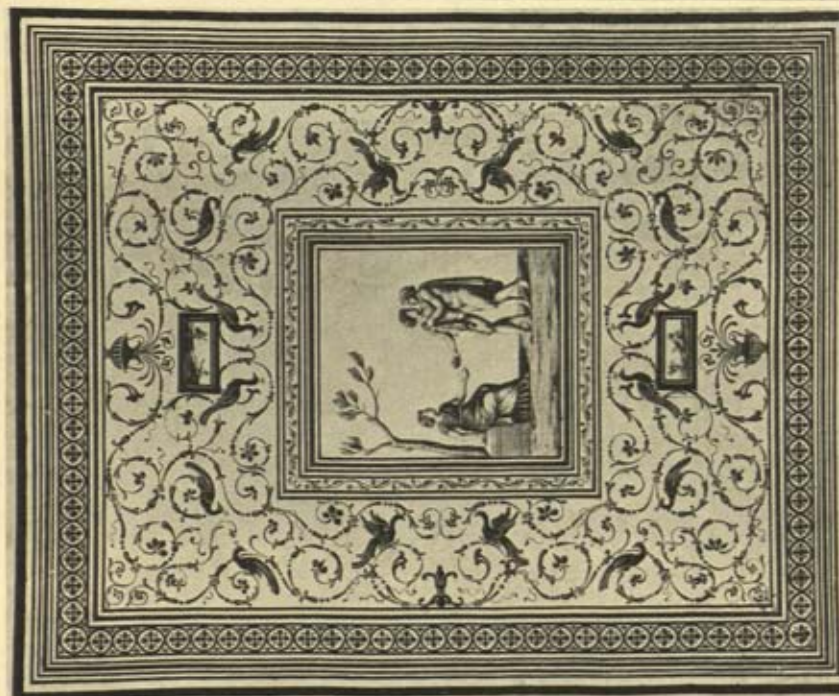
II. 71



II. 72

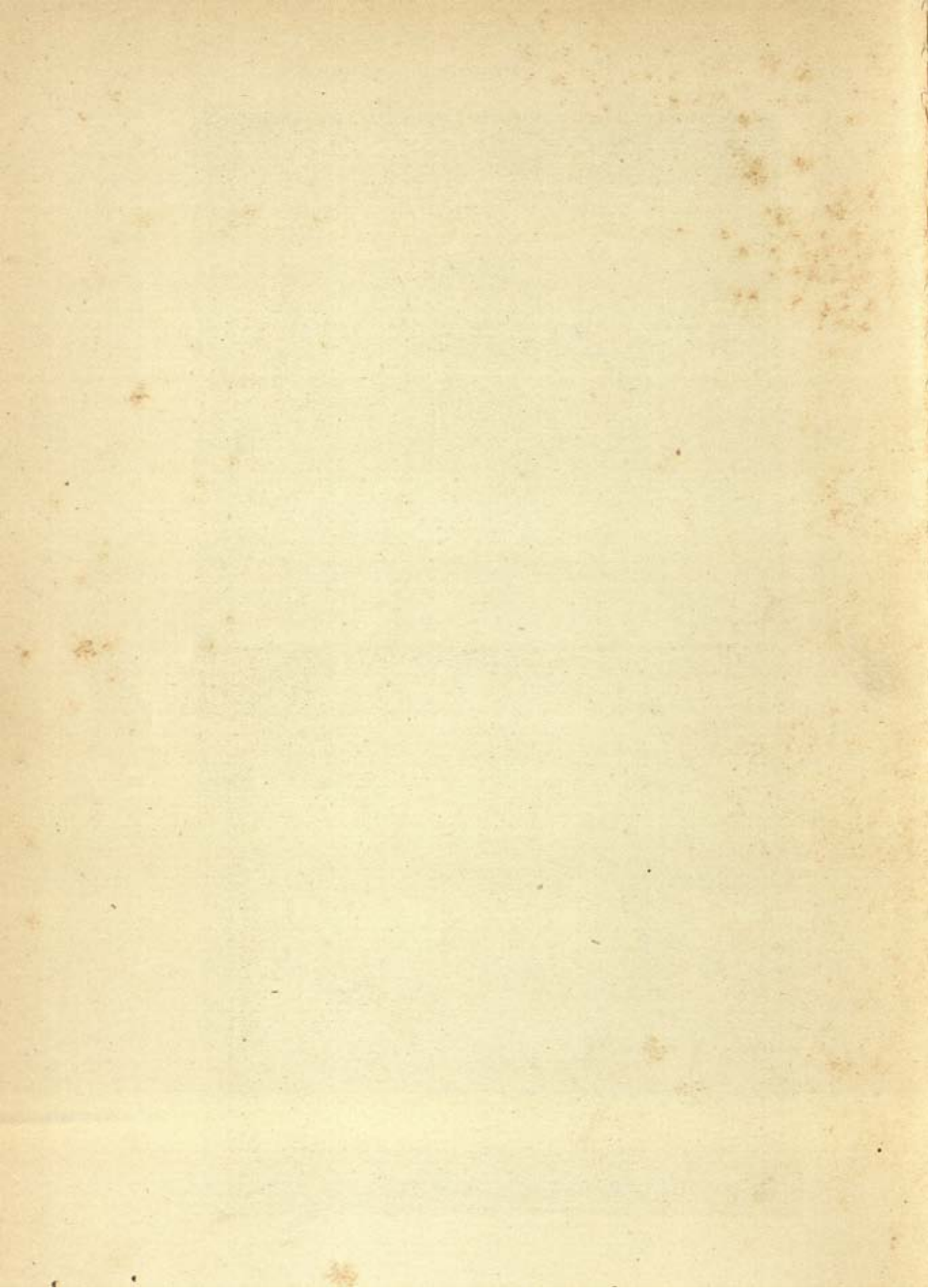


III. 2



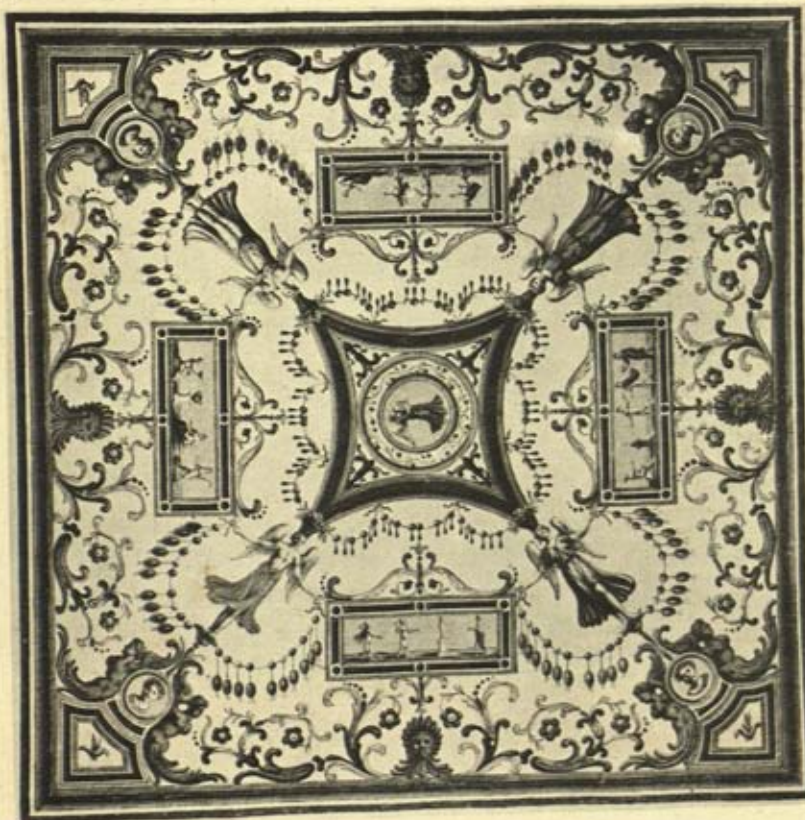
III. 1

TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)





IV. 3



III. 16

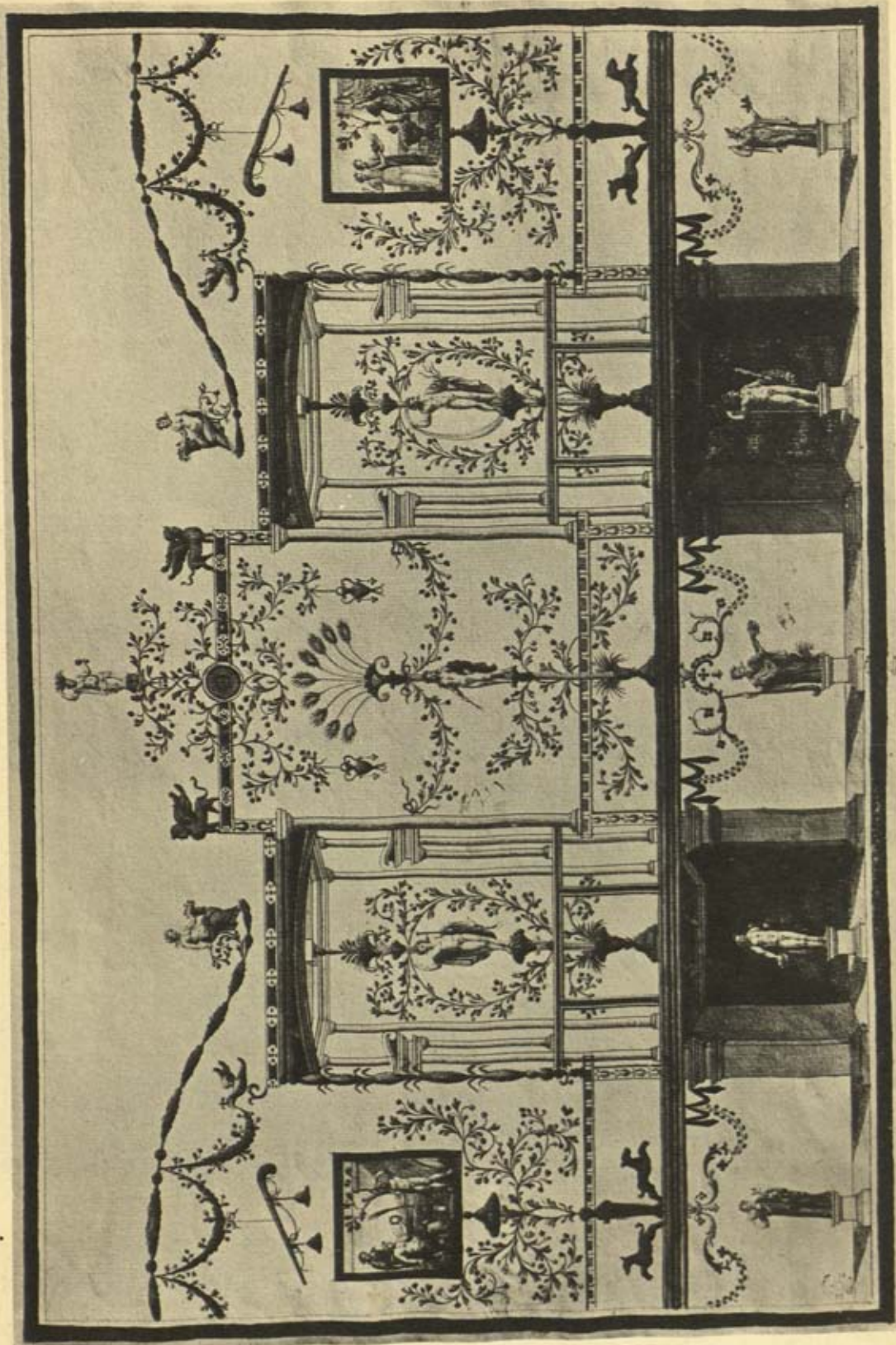


IV. 37

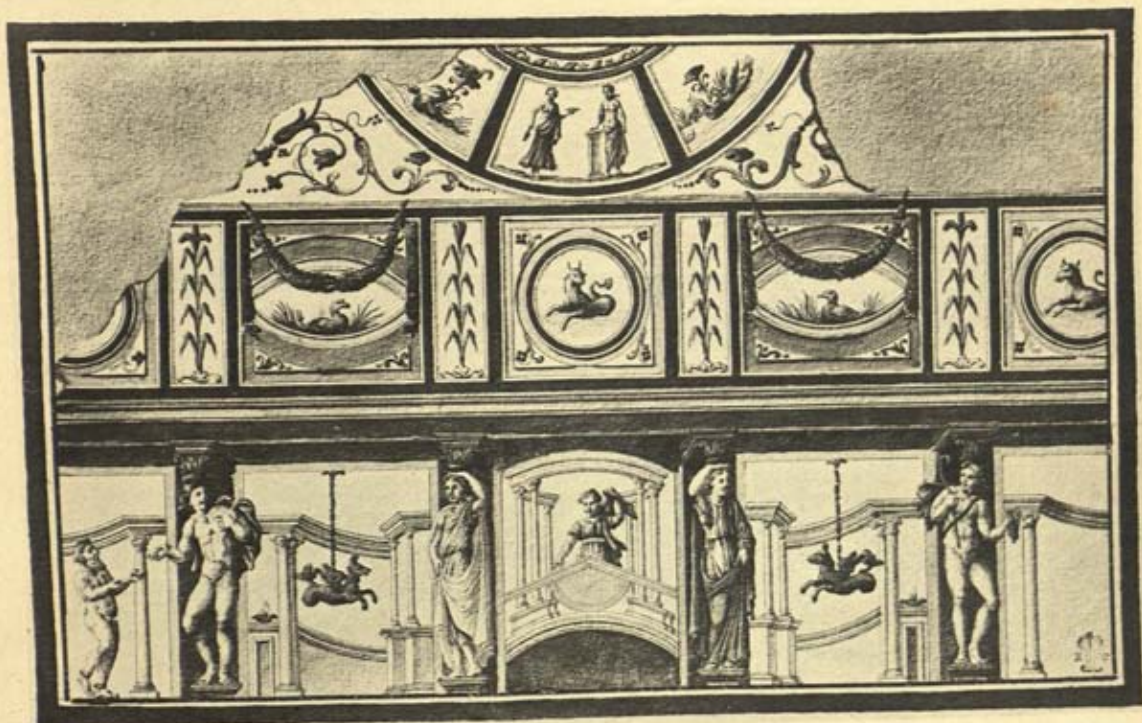


VI.

V. 47



TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)



IV. 86



IV. 95



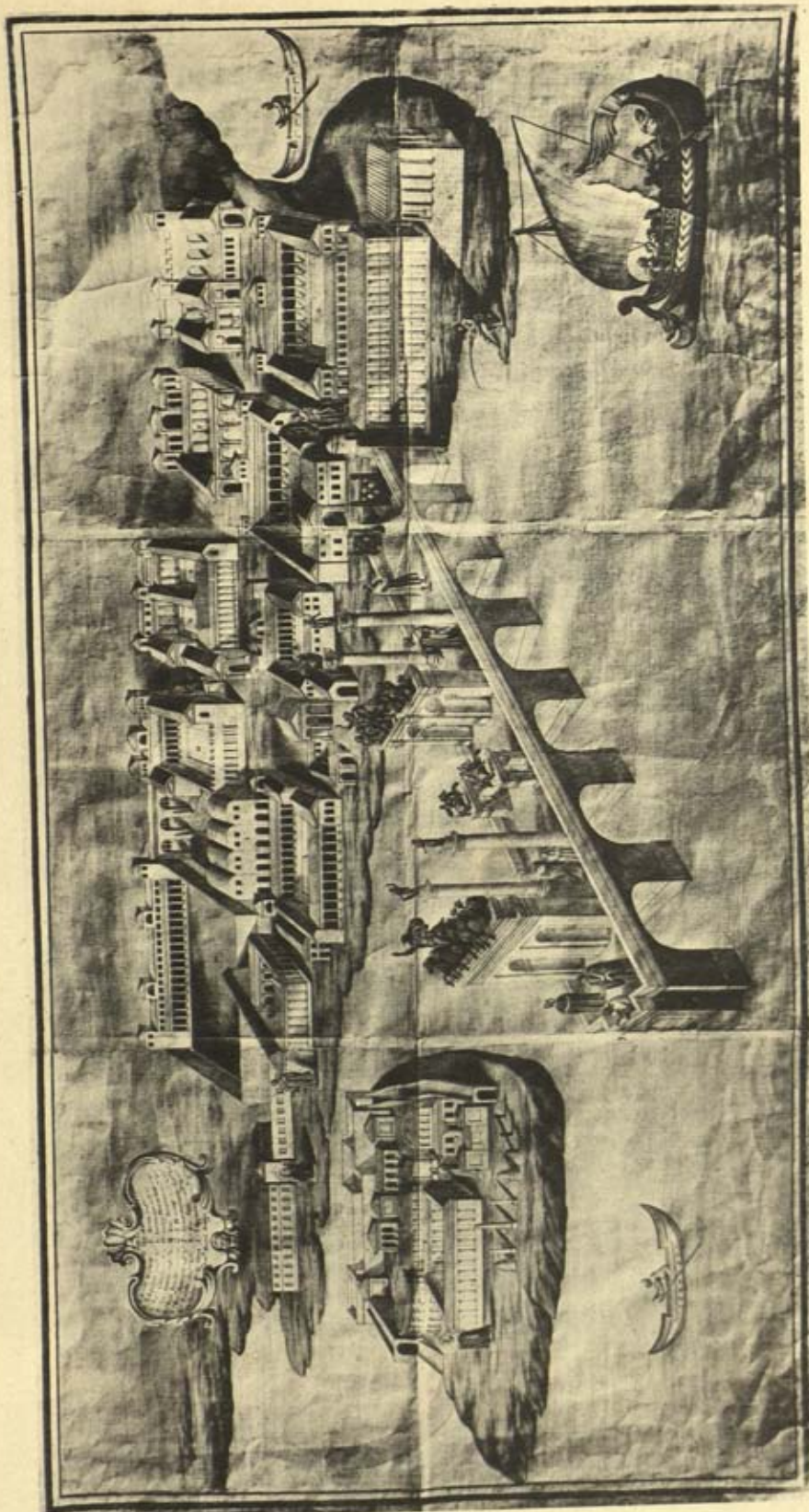
VIII

V. 48

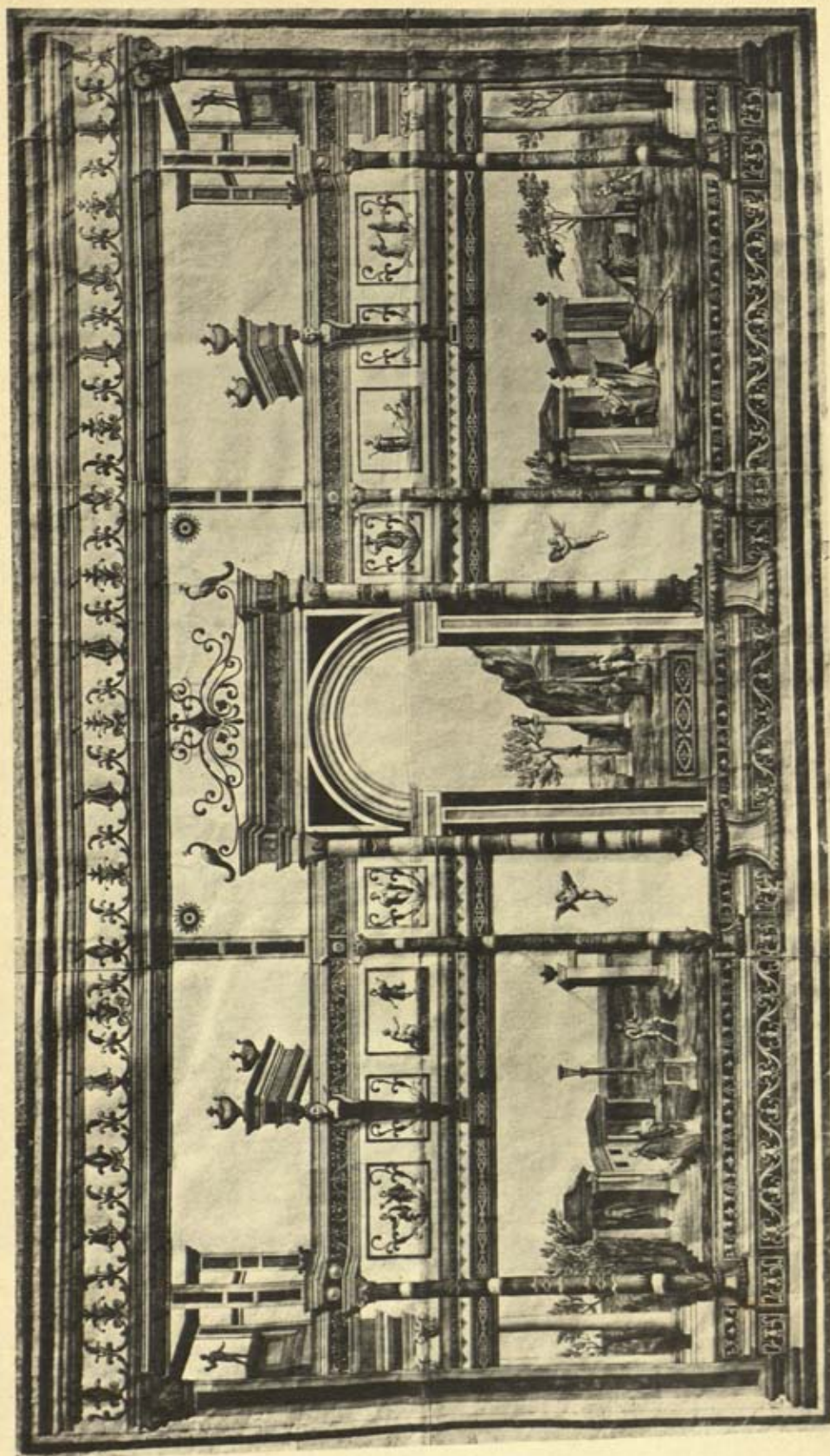


X

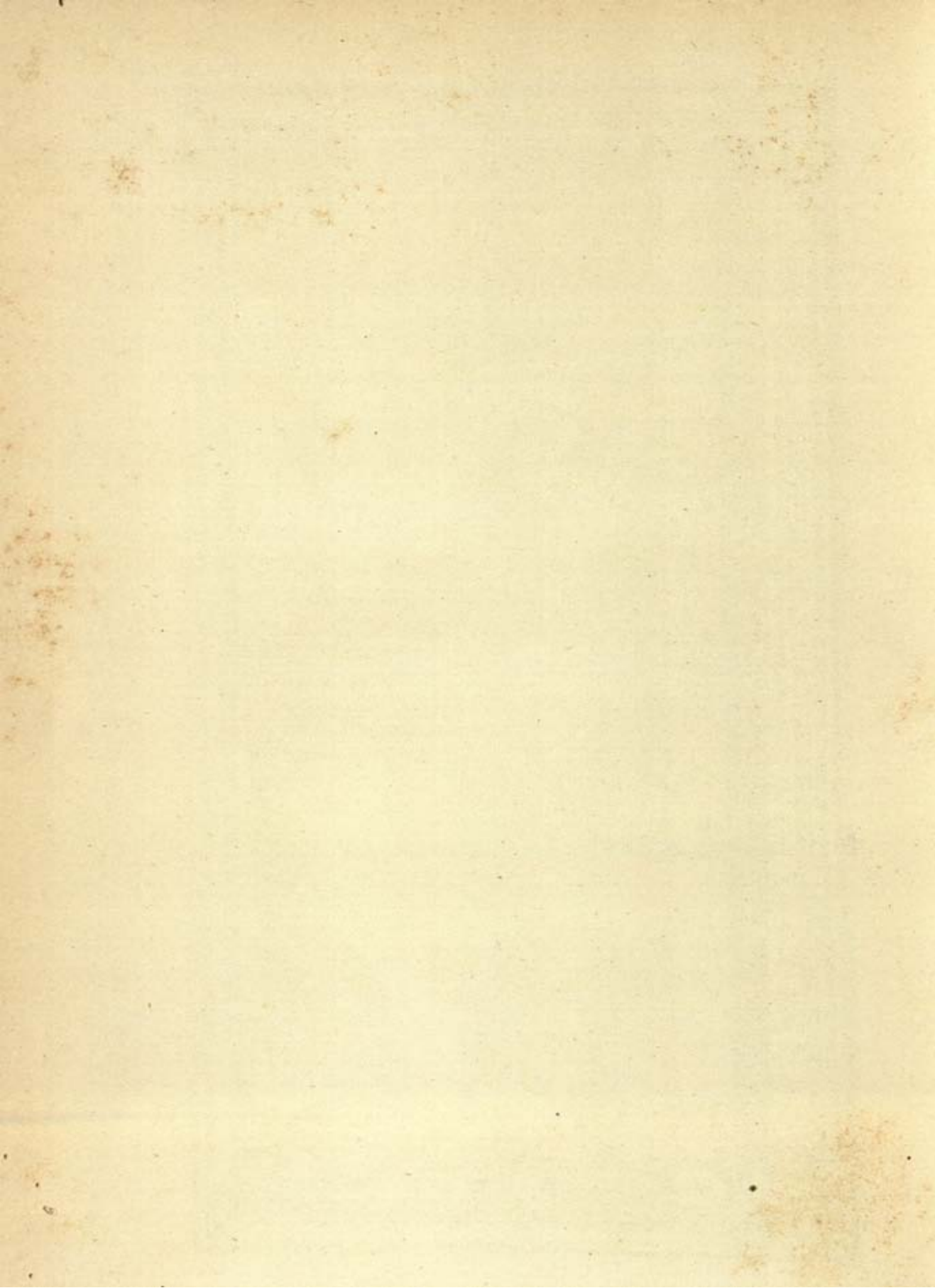
V. 50



TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)



TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)



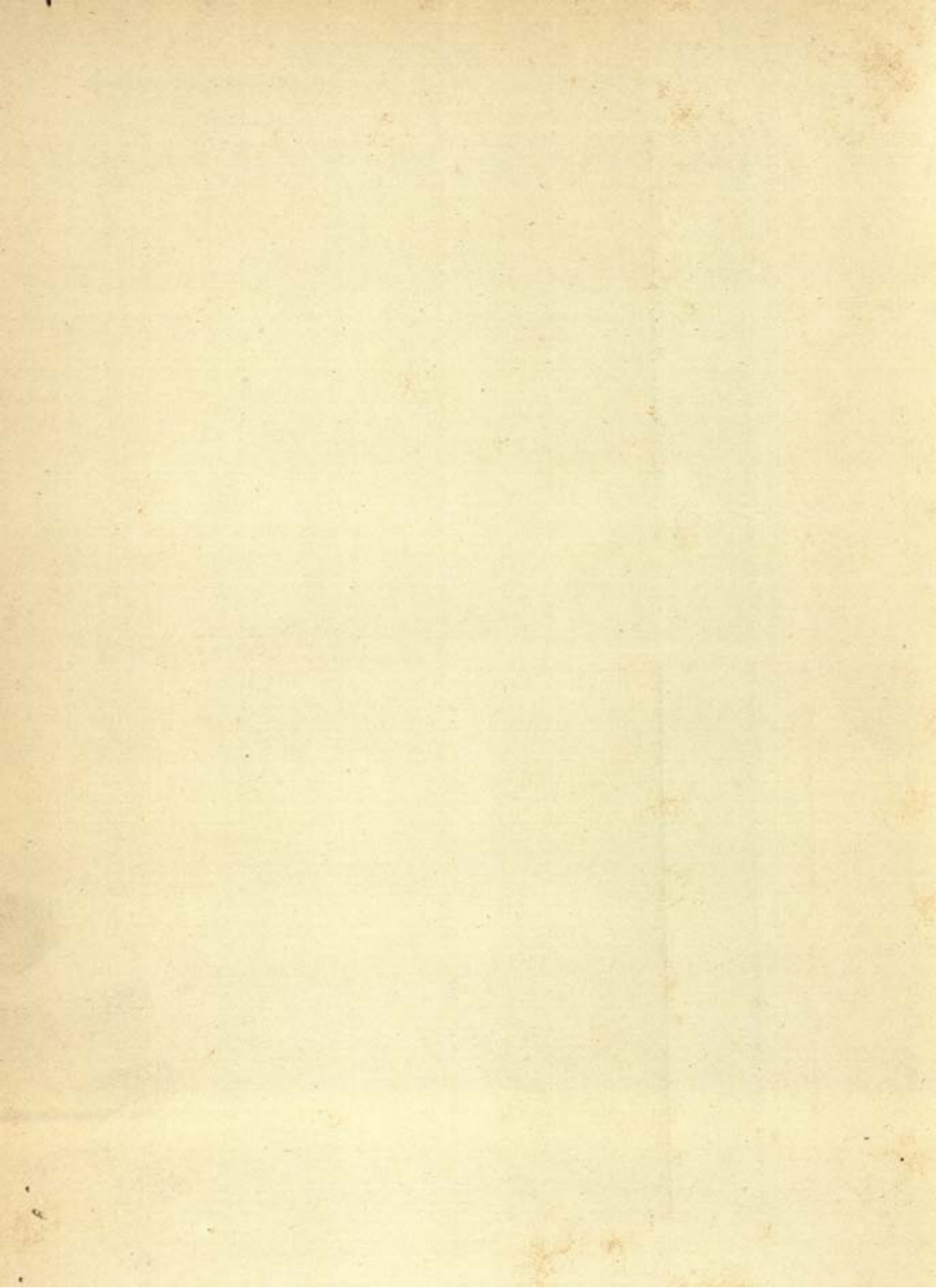


VII. 7



VII. 6

TOPHAM DRAWINGS (ETON COLLEGE)





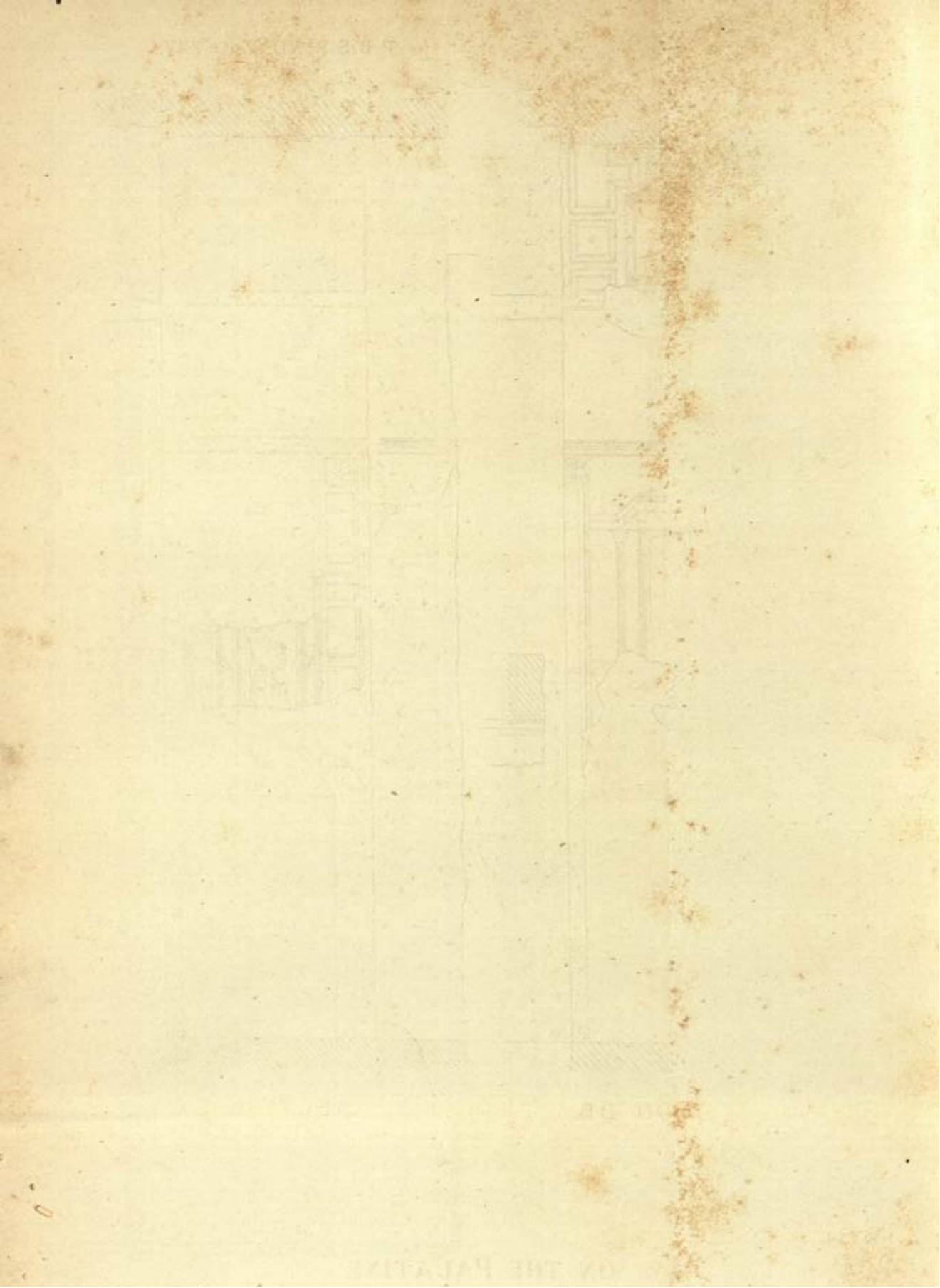
VII. 11

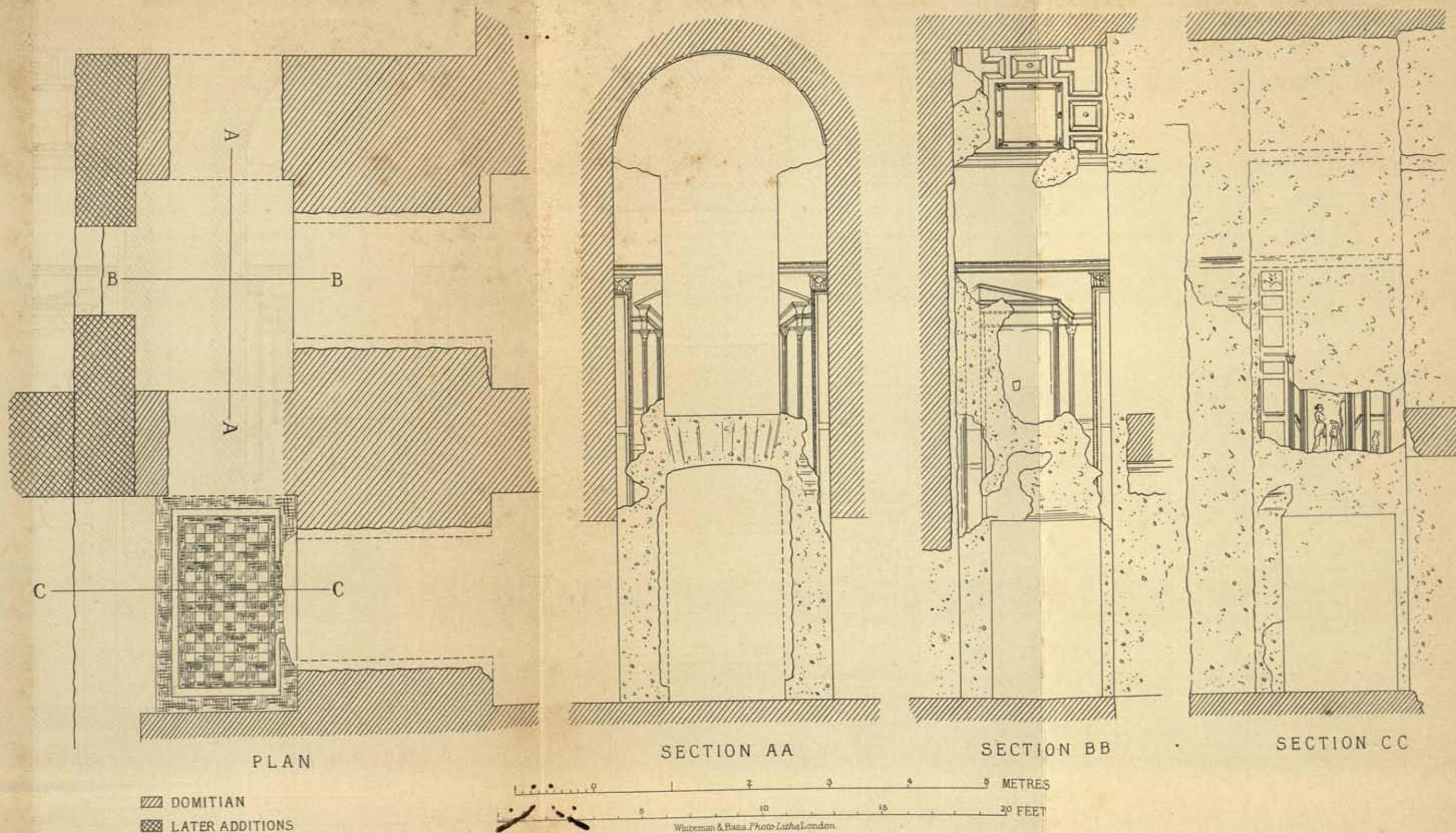


VII. 10



VI. 5





PLAN AND ELEVATIONS OF LOGGIA ON NORTH OF SO-CALLED *DOMUS TIBERIANA* ON THE PALATINE

Fig. 143



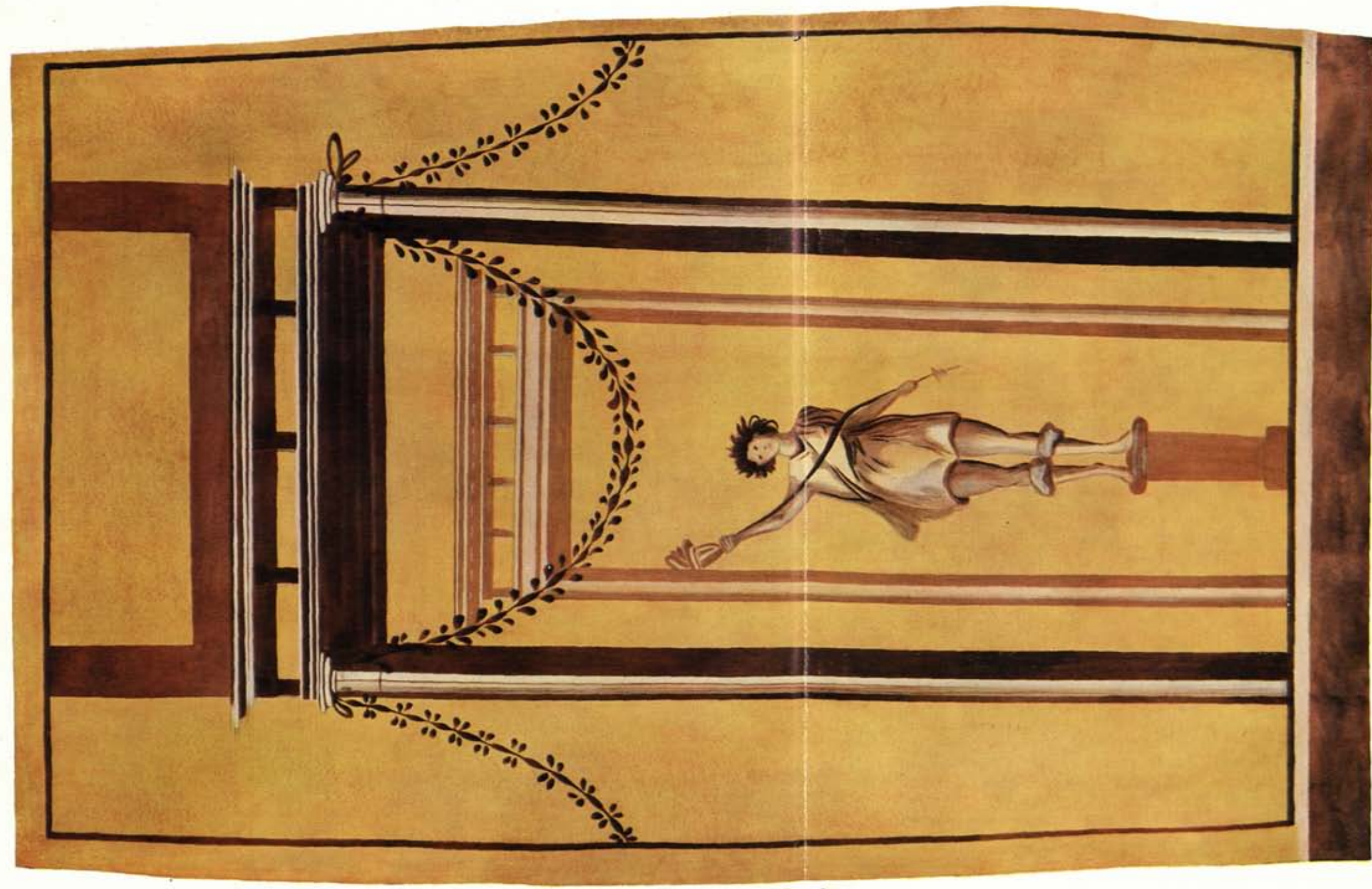
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WALL PAINTING ON THE PALATINE - I.A.





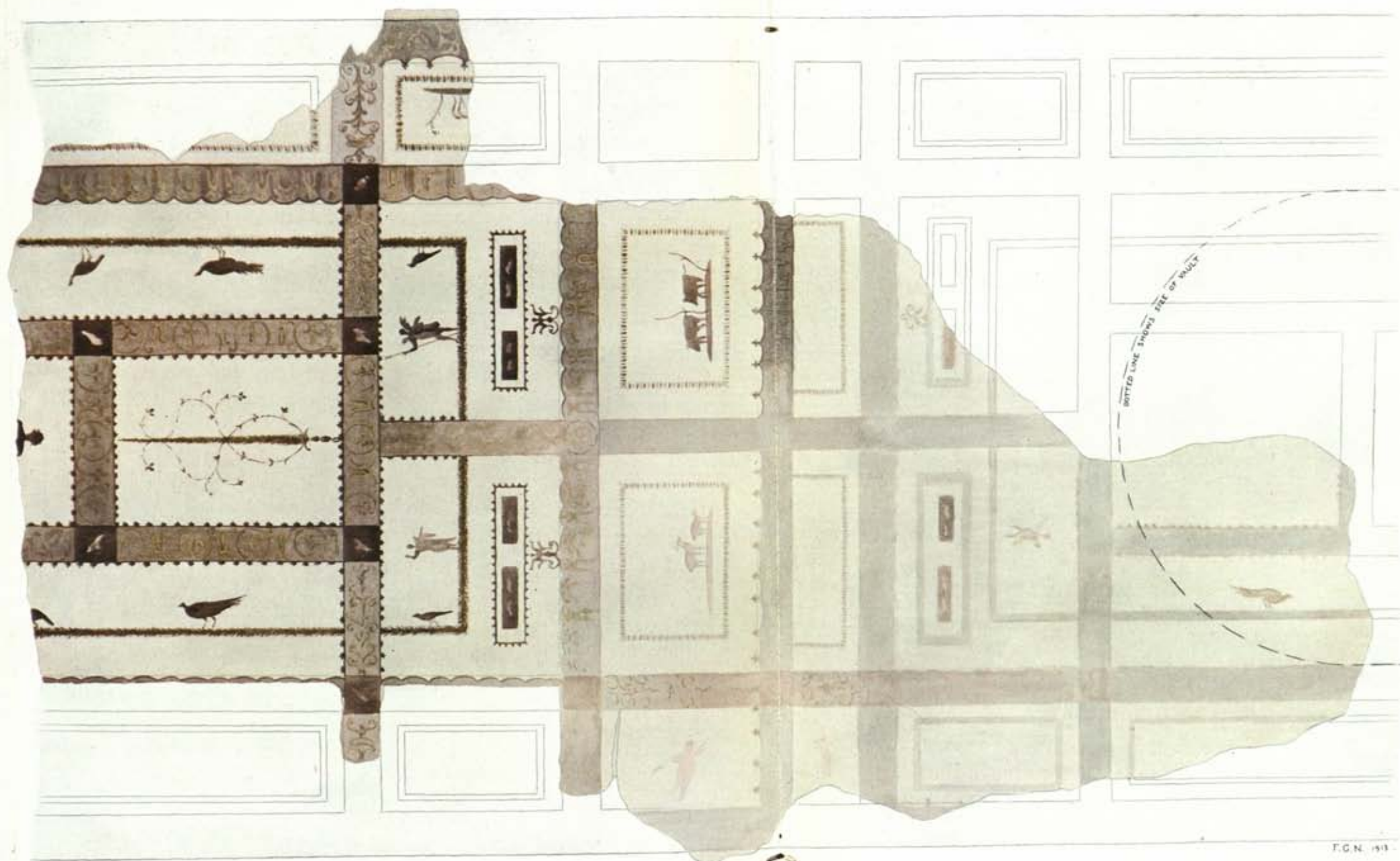
WALL PAINTING ON THE PALATINE - I.B.



F. G. N. 1913

SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 50 CENTIMETRES

WALL PAINTING ON THE PALATINE - II.



F.G.N. 1913

SCALE 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 CENTIMETRES

PAINTED CEILING ON THE GALATINE - III.

52 N.C

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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